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EDITORIAL

In the statement of aims which I printed at the head of the 1957 volume of *Nottingham Mediaeval Studies* I explained that, while its essential purpose was to provide a medium of publication for the research work and the critical writing on mediaeval subjects produced by the academic staff, the postgraduate school and the graduates of the University, I considered myself free as editor to invite an occasional contribution from elsewhere. It seemed to me particularly fitting that the first mediaevalist to be approached in this way should be Dr. Dorothy L. Sayers. Dr. Sayers had from the beginning taken a great interest in the founding of the journal and had read the first number in page-proof. An immediate contact with the University had been the memorable lecture, "The Beatrician Vision in Dante and other poets," which she gave there on 7 June 1957. She was first and foremost and by preference a mediaevalist. A pupil of the late Professor Mildred Pope, she took the mediaeval special paper in French language and literature at Oxford, and maintained a life-long friendship with that great scholar. The earliest fruits of her mediaeval scholarship were characteristic. Several of the poems in her first volume of poetry, "Op. I" published in 1916, were inspired by themes drawn from Arthurian romance; and her first long sustained work of art was a prose and verse rendering of the *Tristan* of Thomas. In later life, after her outstanding achievements in the realms of creative writing, religious drama and poetry, she returned to her first love, the Middle Ages. As I listened to her lectures on the *Divina Commedia* given August after August to the Summer Schools of the Society for Italian Studies and as I checked the galleys of those lectures and others like them prepared for publication in "Introductory Papers on Dante" and "Further Papers on Dante," as I read her translations of the *Inferno* and the *Purgatorio* and the masterly introductions and explanatory notes which accompany them, and then this last year as I helped her over minor points for her edition of *Roland* and enjoyed for the first time the vivid and scholarly preface printed with that last translation, I realized more and more fully that here was writer fully alive to the Middle Ages in Europe, here was a fine literary craftsman who with a creative and richly-stored mind was bringing into new focus the literatures of mediaeval Italy and France. Learned journals are only too easily filled with discussions of minor textual and philological problems; and

it is noticeable in our generation that scholars whose minds should light with burning enthusiasm at contact with the masterpieces of the Middle Ages and of the Renaissance are falling back into petty listing and the safety of insignificant marginalia. These are contributions to learning. The manuscripts and the early editions have to be discovered and put in order, and the texts have to be established and set up accurately in print. Such functions are however preliminary ones. The essence of the study of the humanities must surely be the consideration of great works of thought and feeling against the contemporary background, then down the centuries of human development and finally in the context of our own civilisation. If we cannot show that the *Divina Commedia* and *La chanson de Roland* have as works of art relevance to the problems and feelings of our own period, then our mid-twentieth century is indeed worthy of nothing more than vocational training and technology. In her power to show that relevance Dorothy L. Sayers was unequalled. Her sudden death on 17 December 1957 was indeed a grievous loss.

This second number of *Nottingham Mediaeval Studies* contains two contributions from Dr. Sayers' pen. She had promised me as a leading article her views on the problems involved in translating into forceful modern English and into assonanced laisses a chanson de geste of the eleventh century, problems as seen by a professional craftsman who had herself done the job, just as some unknown Norman craftsman had done the original job in his own language nine hundred years ago. She died when she had written only a few pages of her article "On translating *La chanson de Roland*." This fragment is her last work, found in long-hand on her desk: the very last words she wrote are a letter explaining how she intended to complete it, a letter which reached me just twelve hours after her death. Her unfinished comments on *Roland* cannot stand alone and I have kept them back for insertion in a later consideration of her contribution to the study of mediaeval French literature. As leading article in this number I have printed instead her lecture on "The Beatrician Vision." Her second article, entitled "On translating the *Divina Commedia*," which like the other is published here for the first time, was also a lecture, given in 1954 at Girton College as part of a course for Italian teachers of English organised by the British Council.[1]

The article on "The Scandinavians in Derbyshire, the place-name evidence" is by Dr. K. Cameron, lecturer in English language in the University, whose three volumes on "The place-names of Derbyshire" are in the press. "Sir Peter de la Mare, Speaker for the Commons in Parliament in 1376 and 1377" forms one of a series on the early Speakers which is being prepared by Professor J. S. Roskell of the Department of History. Dr. H. H. Lucas, Warden of Wortley Hall, writes on "Pons de Capduoill and Azalais de Mercuor: a study of the Planh."

LEWIS THORPE

[1] I am grateful to Miss Muriel St. Clare Byrne, Dr. Sayers' literary executrix and my good friend, for giving me permission to publish these two articles.

THE BEATRICIAN VISION IN DANTE AND OTHER POETS[1]

It is a favourite pastime of literary critics to debate the question: "Why did Wordsworth lose his inspiration?" The cognate question, "Why did Dante not lose his?" seldom appears among the quodlibets. Yet, given the one problem, the other is equally perplexing; for in both men the original well-spring of inspiration was a spiritual experience of exactly the same kind, and each after his own manner had to endure the drying-up of the well. If both of them had died at the age of 45, when Wordsworth had recently finished *The Excursion*, and Dante was failing to complete the *Convivio*, we should have said of both alike that here was a poet who, after a brilliant outburst of ecstatic song, had lost his first impetus and declined into an arid didacticism. We might even have added that Wordsworth, although he had written more positively bad verse than Dante, was the greater poet of the two. Yet, while Wordsworth was never able fully to recover the glory and the dream which had brooded over the first two books of *The Prelude*, and inspired their own magnificent obsequies in the *Immortality Ode* and *Tintern Abbey*, Dante went on to recover all and more than all that he had lost, dying at length triumphantly into silence with the raptures of the *Paradiso* upon his lips:

> Quale allodetta che in aere si spazia
> prima cantando, e poi tace contenta
> dell'ultima dolcezza che la sazia.[2]

I have said that the experience of Dante and Wordsworth was identical; but this fact is not always recognized, even by those who have themselves shared the experience. Wordsworth is frequently classed as a "nature-worshipper," among a number of other people who took pleasure in flowers and skies and landscapes; Dante's love for Beatrice is often written off as an "erotic stimulus," although that kind of love is not necessarily erotic at all, except in the sense that it is an *eros* which strives upward to its object, rather than an *agape* which floods down charity from above. Other forms which the experience takes—for it is by no means a rare one—are similarly pigeon-holed in separate compartments, with no apparent realization that they belong to the same type. It is generally felt that all such experiences are in some way "mystical"; but since they do not conform to the classical pattern of mysticism, they are sometimes denied even the shelter of that much-abused word, or allowed at most to rank as a "pseudo-mysticism." Let us begin by bringing together a few examples, drawn from the most diverse sources in fact and

[1] This article is the text of a lecture given at the University of Nottingham on 7 June 1957.

[2] *Para.*, XX, 73–75.

fiction; we shall then be in a position to identify the one invariable factor that persists throughout the series.

> Now Moses . . . came to the mountain of God, even to Horeb. And the angel of the Lord appeared unto him in a flame of fire out of the midst of a bush: and he looked, and, behold, the bush burned with fire, and the bush was not consumed. And Moses said, I will now turn aside, and see this great sight, why the bush is not burnt. And when the Lord saw that he turned aside to see, God called unto him out of the midst of the bush. . .
>
> *Exod.*, iii. 1–3.

> Vede perfettamente ogni salute
> Chi la mia donna tra le donne vede:
> Quelle, che van con lei, sono tenute
> Di bella grazia a Dio render mercede, . . .
>
> *Vita Nuova*, xxvii.

> "What," it will be Question'd, "when the Sun rises, do you not see a round disk of fire somewhat like a Guinea?" O no, no, I see an Innumerable company of the Heavenly host crying, "Holy, Holy, Holy is the Lord God Almighty."
>
> W. Blake, *A Vision of the Last Judgment.*

> And he was transfigured before them: and his face did shine as the sun, and his raiment was white as the light. . . . Then answered Peter, and said unto Jesus, Lord, it is good for us to be here. . .
>
> *Matt.*, xvii. 2–4.

> But she—
> The glory of life, the beauty of the world,
> The splendour of Heaven . . . well, Sirs, does no one move?
> Do I speak ambiguously? The glory, I say,
> And the beauty, I say, and splendour, still say I,
> Who, priest, and trained to live my whole life long
> On beauty and splendour, solely at their source,
> God,—have thus recognised my food in her,
> You tell me, that's fast dying whilst we talk,
> Pompilia!
>
> R. Browning, *The Ring and the Book*, vi., 117–125.

> [Plato] could never have seen [as I was seeing] a bunch of flowers shining with their own inner light and all but quivering under the pressure of the significance with which they were charged; could never have perceived that what rose and iris and carnation so intensely signified was nothing more, and nothing less, than what they were—a transience that was yet eternal

life, a perpetual perishing that was the same time pure Being, a bundle of minute, unique particulars in which, by some unspeakable and yet self-evident paradox, was to be seen the divine source of all existence. . . . Words like Grace and Transfiguration come to my mind, and this of course was what, among other things, they stood for.

A. Huxley, *The Doors of Perception*, p. 12.

Yet, looking back over the years . . . [what] I see most clearly . . . is a picture, precise in the sunshine, of Jones minor coming back up Keate's Lane from Lower Chapel on the morning of the Fourth of June. He is wearing a button-hole; he has just been singing "Now thank we all our God" with immense and genuine fervour; he is walking in a kind of intoxication. For everything that goes to the making of Eton, the mellow red bricks, the elms, the river and the playing-fields, the traditions, the community, the high privilege of belonging to it, had suddenly coalesced into a single flash of delight. It was a mystic moment for a Thomas Traherne, not for him, to describe. But it left a mark; and I cannot help thinking that a School which could visit with such a benediction a not very imaginative boy of thirteen must possess a singular grace.

L. E. Jones, *A Victorian Boyhood*, pp. 168–9.

And at the sacring of the mass I saw
The holy elements alone; but he,
"Saw ye no more? I, Galahad, saw the Grail,
The Holy Grail, descend upon the shrine;
I saw the fiery face as of a child
That smote itself into the bread and went."

Tennyson, *The Holy Grail*, lines 462–67.

The corn was orient and immortal wheat, which never should be reaped, nor was ever sown. I thought it had stood from everlasting to everlasting. . . . The green trees when I saw them first through one of the gates transported and ravished me, their sweetness and unusual beauty made my heart to leap, and almost mad with ecstasy, they were such strange and wonderful things. . . . Boys and girls tumbling in the street, and playing, were moving jewels. I knew not that they were born or should die. But all things abided eternally as they were in their proper places. Eternity was manifest in the Light of Day, and something infinite behind everything appeared: which talked with my expectation and moved my desire. The city seemed to stand in Eden, or to be built in Heaven.

T. Traherne, *Centuries of Meditations*, iii, 3,
(B. Dobell's modernised text).

There was a time when meadow, grove, and stream,
The earth, and every common sight,
To me did seem
Apparelled in celestial light,
The glory and the freshness of a dream.

Wordsworth, *Intimations of Immortality*, I, 1–5.

Now, all the experiences thus described, whether they belong to fact or fiction, are in the proper and technical sense mystical: what is experienced is the immediate and intuitive awareness of an eternal reality. The thing which they have in common, and which distinguishes them from mystical experiences of the classical type, is that every one has a basis in the world of physical phenomena. There is no imaginary vision, still less that total naughting of all forms and images which characterises the mysticism of the Negative Way. What is beheld is the transfiguration of something actually existing in the outer world of sense. There is an actual bush, which burns but is not consumed; Beatrice and Pompilia are women of flesh and blood; the human body of Christ is present upon Mount Tabor before, during, and after the vision of His divine glory; Blake's sun is the sun of astronomy, and Huxley's flowers stand in a ordinary vase upon the table; Wordsworth's meadow, grove and stream are geographically located at Cockermouth; Eton College is an earthly community, and so are the children who play in the streets and fields of Traherne's native town; the elements of Galahad's sacrament are common bread and wine. The physical bases are very diverse; but the quality of the experience is everywhere recognizably the same: we cannot separate it arbitrarily into "erotic," "religious," and "nature" mysticism. We could, indeed, say that it is all "nature mysticism"—if we mean by that that it has its basis in the natural order; but the phrase is not ordinarily used in that sense, and to use it so would, I think, be merely confusing. I have preferred to call it "The Beatrician Vision"—not because it is by any means always concerned with man's love for woman, but in honour of Dante, who was the first, and is perhaps still the only, writer to have systematically charted the mystical Way which leads from the Vision of Beatrice to the Beatific Vision. And it must be said that not all who have enjoyed that first vision go on to follow the Way, and that of those who do, not all attain the end. Among those who have attained we may reckon Dante and Blake and Traherne, and probably Charles Williams and Coventry Patmore. Wordsworth went by the Way, yet his song failed and fell short of the ultimate ecstasy; and the same is true of Browning; Yeats saw the vision, but missed the Way—or perhaps deliberately refused it.

Although the end of the Way is the Vision of God, the first vision is not necessarily religious, much less necessarily Christian. The mystical gift, as such, is a natural, not a supernatural gift, and is far less rare than is usually supposed. Moments of Beatrician vision are experienced by a great many people when they first fall in love. Intimations of the eternal realities may

occur at the psychological level, or may even (as in Aldous Huxley's experiment with mescalin) be artificially induced. In a morbid form, they sometimes appear as features of certain mental derangements. When, however, they occur spontaneously to healthy people, they tend to induce, if only temporarily, that condition which is theologically called "being in a state of grace"—"sono tenute/Di bella grazia a Dio render mercede"; "words like Grace and Transfiguration come to my mind"; "a school which could visit [a small boy] with such a benediction . . . must possess a singular grace"—in describing the experience the word seems to spring naturally to the mind. Dante has left us the best of all accounts of this state of grace; he says that at the prospect of receiving Beatrice's *salute* (which means not only "salutation" but also "salvation") he was taken hold of by such a flame of charity that he forgave everyone who had ever offended him, and if he had been asked any question whatsoever could only have answered "Love," with a countenance clothed in humility. Meekness within, and an overflowing of charity to those without are thus the signs of this gracious state; and where they are present there is the assurance that the vision is a true one, and that we have not to do merely with aesthetic pleasure or with the lust of possession. The soul adores and loves. It prostrates itself before a fellow-creature whose bodily presence is somehow felt to be a vehicle of grace, and the image of a greater Reality that informs and indwells it and is the eternal truth of its being.

The outsider, of course, does not see this; he is persuaded that the lover is under an illusion: Beatrice is a good-looking girl with all the usual feminine faults; Eton is simply a school where education is scrambled into boys' heads among playing-fields and historic buildings rather above the average; mountain, wood and stream are the sort of scenery you get in Cumberland; and, as also to Peter Bell:

> A primrose by a river's brim
> A yellow primrose [is] to him,
> And it [is] nothing more.

But the lover insists that on the contrary it is *he* who is seeing the real person, the real Nature, the true community, as it really exists and is known to God. This is what Wordsworth means when he says:

> Let good men feel the soul of nature,
> And see things as they are.

The Beatrician mystic does not deny the reality of the phenomena: they are true so far as they go; they are the blessed means by which the truth is made known to us, but they are not in themselves the whole truth; "for," says Blake, "that call'd Body is a portion of Soul discern'd by the five Senses, the chief

inlets of Soul in this age." And thus Étienne Gilson says, speaking of St. Francis:

> Hence the endlessly springing fountain of symbols, or rather the permanent transfiguration of the universe in which he saw, not fragments of matter or beings deprived of knowledge, but precious images of God.
>
> *Phil. of St. Bonaventure*, p. 70.

Charles Williams, commenting on Dante's canzone, *Donne ch'avete intelletto d'amore*, sums up his experience:

> . . . what Dante sees is the glory of Beatrice as she is "in heaven"—that is, as God chose her, unfallen, original; or (if better) redeemed; but at least either way, celestial. What he sees is something real. It is not "realer" than the actual Beatrice who, no doubt, had many serious faults, but it is as real. Both Beatrices are aspects of one Beatrice. The revealed virtues are real; so is the celestial beauty.
>
> *Figure of Beatrice*, p. 27.

Now, this being the peculiar quality of the Beatrician vision, we have to acknowledge something else about it which sets it off sharply against certain other kinds of mystical experience; it is of its nature, and necessarily, extravert. The eyes of the soul are not turned inward to the true Self, but outward to a true Other. This of itself is enough to condemn it in the eyes of many contemporary psychologists, who are so deeply preoccupied with the problems of introversion that they are apt to dismiss the extravert as uninteresting and insensitive. It is also, I think, the reason why theologians are reluctant to allow that it is a mystical experience at all. From the fifteenth century on, Western mysticism has tended to conform itself to the Eastern pattern, which, rejecting all messages conveyed by the senses and all images derived from the outer world, contemplates in darkness, under the "cloud of unknowing," the dweller in the innermost—the immanent God who is the ground of the soul. The other pattern, which affirms all the images and contemplates the immanence of God in the visible things of the creation, is very generally assumed to be not mystical in any exact sense, but (merely) "poetical." I say "assumed," because in the majority of treatises upon mysticism, the Way of Affirmation is not discussed at all, but omitted as not being part of the subject. It is also true that the poet, whose whole insight into truth depends upon the creative handling of images, cannot possibly follow a purely negative way without denying his own vocation. In practice, the way of contemplation (as it was called in Dante's time) nearly always includes both affirmative and negative elements, and the opposition between "poetry" and "mysticism" may be more verbal than real. It is, however, well to note that where Christianity is concerned, a total retreat from the material world is not merely heretical but impossible; for the central Christian doctrine is precisely that of God incarnate

in matter, its central act of worship the bodily receiving of God's substance in the sacrament of bread and wine, and its unique eschatological expectation the Resurrection of the Flesh. And in pondering the images used by Dante in the *Paradiso*, we may consider these words by an anonymous Catholic writer:

> The mystics heap up terms of negation—darkness, void, nothingness—in endeavouring to describe the Absolute which they have apprehended. It may be, of course, that their apprehension had such a fullness and richness of content that in human language it could only be described negatively. But one may, at least, point out that their method is the very opposite of the characteristically Christian one of affirmation; that where they say "darkness," St. John says "light," and that St. John says "fullness" where they say "void"; and St. Paul stresses, not ignorance but enhanced knowledge, as the result of religious experience.

So far, however, we have only defined a particular spiritual experience, not uncommon to lovers and poets, which we have agreed to call the "Beatrician Vision." It remains to be seen whether that experience develops into anything that can properly be called a way of ascent to God.

We may be inclined to say in our haste that normally it does not. If there is one thing about which the wiseacres of middle age are in desolating agreement, it is that youth's a stuff will not endure, and that the raptures of romantic love soon wear off. Nor do the exponents of the Affirmative Way deny this. With the greatest unanimity, they all record the loss, in one way or the other, of that first God-bearing Image which opened their eyes to the light invisible. To Dante, the shock came in the simplest, most inevitable way of all. The girl died; and it seemed to him that the light was extinguished, not only for him, but for the whole of Florence, among whose streets his blessed Lady had moved like a young miracle:

> Poichè la gentilissima donna fu partita da questo secolo, rimase tutta la sopradetta cittade quasi vedova e dispogliata di ogni dignitade, ond'io, ancora lagrimando in questa desolata cittade, scrissi a' principi della terra alquanto della sua condizione, pigliando quello cominciamento di Geremìa: *Quomodo sedet sola civitas!*
>
> *Vita Nuova*, xxxi.

In the *Vita Nuova*, he tells us how he went about weeping bitterly and refusing all comfort, until one day he saw a gentle lady looking compassionately upon him from a window. He was grateful for this lady's pity; he frequently went to see her; he wrote a sonnet to her; and presently, to his own extreme horror, he realized that his inconsolable grief was beginning to be consoled. He was as angry with himself as we all are under such circumstances. He reproached himself for his inconstancy, and worked himself up deliberately into fresh outbursts of weeping, with a good deal of success. Years later, when he is writing

the Second Treatise of the *Convivio*, we find him still worrying about his state of mind—still excusing and justifying himself, and explaining that there was no real infidelity. By that time, he has identified the Lady of the Window with Philosophy, and has made of her another God-bearing Image, bringing a new revelation of the eternal beauty. He tells us that, after Beatrice's death, he read the *Consolations* of Boethius and Cicero's *De Amicitia*, and was thus led to attend the Schools and make a serious study of Philosophy, in which he found new and inexpressible delight. This is undoubtedly true. He had lost the First Image, but he had found a Second (the phrase is Charles Williams's), and his new rapture seemed to him in no way inferior to the first. But they were experienced at a different level. The vision of Beatrice had been an intuitive dedication of the whole person; the vision of the Lady Philosophy was the deliberate dedication of the awakened intellect.

Traherne also experienced the loss of that first intuitive vision, though in a quite different way. His own account of himself is very remarkable, for he claims that his conscious memories go back almost to the moment of his birth. I believe that many psychiatrists would agree that this was not impossible, but the content of his memory is, to say the least of it, very un-Freudian, for it includes no birth-trauma and no longing to retreat into the womb. He says that he remembers a state of pure paradisal happiness, like that of Adam before the Fall, going back to the time when he experienced only a simple awareness, without any clear distinction of the senses.

My Body being Dead, my Lims unknown;
  Before I skild to prize
  Those living Stars mine Eys,
Before my Tongue or Cheeks were to me shewn,
  Before I knew my Hands were mine,
Or that my Sinews did my Members joyn,
  When neither Nostril, Foot, nor Ear,
As yet was seen, or felt, or did appear;
    I was within
A House I knew not, newly cloth'd with Skin.

Then was my Soul my only All to me,
  A Living Endless Ey,
  Just bounded with the Skie
Whose Power, whose Act, whose Essence was to see.
  I was an Inward *Sphere of Light*,
Or an Interminable Orb of *Sight*,
  An Endless and a Living Day,
A vital Sun that round about did *ray*
    All Life, all Sence,
A Naked Simple Pure *Intelligence*. . .

For *Sight* inherits Beauty, *Hearing* Sounds,
The *Nostril* sweet Perfumes,
All *Tastes* have hidden Rooms
Within the *Tongue;* and *Feeling Feeling* wounds
With Pleasure and Delight: but I
Forgot the rest, and was all Sight, or Ey.
Unbodied and devoid of Care,
Just as in Heavn the Holy Angels are.
For Simple Sence
Is Lord of all Created Excellence.

Traherne, *The Preparative*, stanzas i, ii and iv.

This remarkable synthesis of sense without and soul within reminds us of Wordsworth:—

Those hallow'd and pure motions of the sense
Which seem in their simplicity to own
An intellectual charm, that calm delight
Which, if I err not, surely must belong
To those first-born affinities that fit
Our new existence to existing things,
And, in our dawn of being, constitute
The bond of union betwixt life and joy.

Prelude, I. 551–8.

Or compare again Traherne:—

This made me present evermore
With whatsoere I saw.
An Object, if it were before
My Ey, was by Dame Natures law,
Within my Soul. Her Store
Was all at once within me; all her Treasures
Were my Immediat and Internal Pleasures. . .

Traherne, *My Spirit*, 35–41.

and Wordsworth:—

Oh! then what soul was his when on the tops
Of the high mountains he beheld the sun
Rise up and bathe the world in light. He looked,
The ocean and the earth beneath him lay
In gladness and deep joy. The clouds were touched
And in their silent faces did he read
Unutterable love. Sound needed none
Nor any voice of joy: his spirit drank
The spectacle. Sensation, soul and form
All melted into him. They swallowed up
His animal being; in them did he live
And by them did he live. They were his life.

The Excursion, i, 198–210.

The boy of whom Wordsworth speaks (and that boy was himself) was then, he says, about nine years old, the age at which Dante first set eyes on the child Beatrice, and was so smitten, head, heart and reins, that from that day forward Love held lordship over his soul. Dante at least was to live to acknowledge with Traherne that

> The first Impressions are Immortal all.
>
> *Dumnesse*, 85.

But like other immortal things they had to die and rise again. Traherne, always precocious, tells us in the third century of his *Meditations* that his "Apostasy" took place as soon as he was brought in contact with the worldly standards of his teachers and playfellows, whose hearts were fixed on tops and gew-gaws, on "ambitions, trades, luxuries, inordinate affections, casual and accidental riches invented since the Fall." It would have been easy, he says, to teach him otherwise; but nobody made any effort to bring his first innocent apprehensions into any kind of constructive relationship with the worship of "the God of Nature." So that before very long "my thoughts (as indeed what is more fleeting than a thought?) were blotted out; and at last all the celestial, great, and stable treasures to which I was born, as wholly forgotten as if they had never been." He is persuaded that:

> our misery proceedeth ten thousand times more from the outward bondage of opinion and custom, than from any inward corruption or depravation of Nature. And that it is not our parents' loins, so much as our parents' lives, that enthrals and blinds us. Yet is all our corruption derived from Adam inasmuch as all the evil examples and inclinations of the world arise from his sin. But I speak it in the presence of God and of our Lord Jesus Christ, in my pure primitive virgin Light, while my apprehensions were natural and unmixed, I cannot remember but that I was ten thousand times more prone to good and excellent things than evil.
>
> T. Traherne, *Centuries of Meditations*, iii. 8.

It may be that, like other people of his sunny and expansive temperament, he underrated that innate "will to destruction" which is the name psychologists give to what the theologian calls "original sin." What concerns us at the moment is his agreement with Wordsworth that "Heaven lies about us in our infancy." This was not, with either of them, the wishful thinking of the child-lover who has forgotten what his own childhood was like. Neither was it an adult sentimentality throwing a false glamour over their past: the quality of their writing guarantees their inspiration genuine. They spoke from experience, and we may believe them to have been accurate reporters. Perhaps they generalized a little too readily on behalf of the rest of us; but where they themselves were concerned they spoke of what they knew.

What happened to Wordsworth we all know only too well. His experience was the most distressing of the three. The beloved object was not taken from him, like Dante's Beatrice, by death or disaster; he could not, or at least he did not, like Traherne, lay any blame upon evil communications. The change took place in himself, and seemed to be a mere inevitable part of the process of growing older. He was like a man who, having married for love, wakes one day to the discovery that, although his wife is still as beautiful as she ever was, her presence now fails to stir him. Time and familiarity have destroyed romance and reduced the relationship to a daily hum-drum which would be contentment if he did not so vividly remember the wonder and delight which he cannot now summon into experience:

> It is not now as it hath been of yore;
> Turn wheresoe'er I may,
> By night or day,
> The things which I have seen I now can see no more.
>
> The rainbow comes and goes,
> And lovely is the Rose,
> The Moon doth with delight
> Look round her when the heavens are bare,
> Waters on a starry night
> Are beautiful and fair;
> The sunshine is a glorious birth;
> But yet I know, where'er I go,
> That there hath past away a glory from the earth.
>
> *Intimations of Immortality*, I, 6–18.

That is nothing unusual. It is what people always tell us will happen, and ninety-nine times out of a hundred it does happen. Something has come to an end in us, and it is in vain that we try to go back and relive it. It is not always marriage and daily contact that bring the change about—it may be simply age and time. After years of absence we return to look upon the face, or the place, that once meant everything to us, and whose memory has sustained us in our exile, and lo and behold! the magic has departed, and we stand like Wordsworth revisiting Tintern Abbey, while

> . . . with gleams of half-extinguished thought,
> With many recognitions dim and faint,
> And somewhat of a sad perplexity,
> The picture of the mind revives again.
>
> *Tintern Abbey*, 58–61.

It is, be it noted, not the primal glory itself but the memory of the glory, passionately relived, that inspires the verse of Wordsworth's "great decade."

> I cannot paint
> What then I was. The sounding cataract
> Haunted me like a passion: the tall rock,
> The mountain, and the deep and gloomy wood,
> Their colours and their forms, were then to me
> An appetite; a feeling and a love,
> That had no need of a remoter charm,
> By thought supplied, nor any interest
> Unborrowed from the eye. That time is past,
> And all its aching joys are now no more,
> And all its dizzy raptures.
>
> *ibid.*, 75–85.

He goes on:

> Not for this
> Faint I, nor mourn nor murmur; other gifts
> Have followed; for such loss, I would believe,
> Abundant recompense. For I have learned
> To look on nature, not as in the hour
> Of thoughtless youth; but hearing oftentimes
> The still, sad music of humanity,
> Nor harsh nor grating, though of ample power
> To chasten and subdue. And I have felt
> A presence that disturbs me with the joy
> Of elevated thoughts; a sense sublime
> Of something far more deeply interfused,
> Whose dwelling is the light of setting suns,
> And the round ocean and the living air,
> And the blue sky, and in the mind of man:
> A motion and a spirit, that impels
> All thinking things, all objects of all thought,
> And rolls through all things. Therefore am I still
> A lover of the meadows and the woods,
> And mountains; and of all that we behold
> From this green earth; of all the mighty world
> Of eye, and ear,—both what they half create,
> And what perceive; well pleased to recognise
> In nature and the language of the sense
> The anchor of my purest thoughts, the nurse,
> The guide, the guardian of my heart, and soul
> Of all my moral being. *ibid.*, 85–111.

This was written in 1798; and with Dante's example before us we realize what is happening. We are listening to the poetry of the Second Image; *Tintern Abbey* is the counterpart of the Ode, *Voi ch'intendendo*, and the Second Treatise of the *Convivio*, which deal with Dante's change of loves:—

> Because love does not come to birth and grow and achieve perfection all in a moment, but needs time and the nourishment of thought (especially when it is hindered by other thoughts that run counter to it), this new love could not be made perfect without much strife between the thought which nourished it and that which opposed it, and which still held the citadel of my mind on behalf of that glorious Beatrice. . . . And this was so strange (*mirabile*) and so hard to suffer that I addressed my voice to that quarter [the Heaven of Venus] whence came the victory of the new thought, which was greatly victorious, being a celestial virtue, and began to say:
>
> Voi ch'intendendo il terzo ciel movete.
>
> *Conv.*, II. ii.

And a very magnificent ode it is: let nobody suppose that the appearance of the Second Image is not attended with its own raptures. Wordsworth is rather more honest than Dante in facing the nature of the change that has come over him; he frankly laments the loss of his first love, whereas Dante is so anxious to acquit himself of inconstancy that he involves himself in a good deal of rather disingenuous shuffling, which has an effect quite opposite to what he intended. But in the end they agree that the new love is the more adult, the more intellectual, and, in the end, the higher of the two.

> "In a short time," says Dante, I began to feel so much of her sweetness [that is, of the Lady Philosophy] that the love of her cast out and destroyed every other thought. Wherefore, feeling myself raised (*sentendomi levare*) from the thought of that first love to the excellence (*virtù*) of this . . . I opened my mouth in this Ode.

He has previously gone out of his way to inform us that, though he does not wish in any way to speak slightingly of the *Vita Nuova*, "it is only reasonable that it should have been fervid and impassioned, and [the *Convivio*] temperate and virile. For one way of speaking and acting is suitable at one age, and another way at another." In short, he has grown up, and now speaks "not as in the hour/Of thoughtless youth."

From Traherne we have nothing which (so far as we know) was actually written at the time of the change-over; we only know what he thought when he

looked back upon it from a height which showed the whole of his past way clearly displayed beneath him. Four phrases sum up his mature judgment:

> To live the life of God is to live all the works of God, and to enjoy them in His Image.
>
> These liquid, clear satisfactions were the emanations of the highest reason, but not achieved till a long time afterwards.
>
> [As a child] I knew by intuition those things which since my Apostasy, I collected again by the highest reason.
>
> With much ado I was corrupted, and made to learn the dirty devices of this world, which now I unlearn, and become, as it were, a little child again that I may enter into the Kingdom of God."

The First Image is the true image; when it is lost to intuition, the return must be made by means of the Second Image and the intellect; "the way forward is the way back." And the Last Image will be the First Image, but known differently: there is to be no denying of that immediate insight into the divine reality of the visible things. From the affirmation of the First Image, there follows the affirmation of all the images, until every created image is gathered up into that "express image of God's person" which is at the same time created and uncreate.

There is to be no denying—ultimately. But the immediate effect of substituting the analytical intellect for the simplicities of intuition is frequently to produce not merely an apparent denial of the First Image, but actually a painful awareness of the images in opposition. The tension may be so violent as to obscure the reason and almost to split the personality. Dante, looking back to the years when with an eager heart and high hopes he was pursuing his philosophical studies, says of himself:

> Nel mezzo del cammin di nostra vita
> mi ritrovai in una selva oscura
> chè la diritta via era smarrita.
>
> *Inferno* I, 1–3.

He was in the Dark Wood, and the Abyss was opening at his feet. His description is brief, but terrifying: a man bemused with sleep, wandering perplexed among thorns and clinging brambles; the far-off shining of the mountain he cannot reach because his own sins stand in the way like beasts, seen suddenly

as forces exterior to himself, as it were powers of nature uncontrollable, and hostile. Traherne uses a similar image:

> . . . thenceforth I lived among dreams and shadows, like a prodigal son feeding upon husks with swine. A comfortless wilderness full of thorns and troubles the world was, or worse: a waste place covered with idleness. . . .
>
> Another time in a lowering and sad evening, being alone in the field, when all things were dead and quiet, a certain want and horror fell upon me, beyond imagination. The unprofitableness and silence of the place dissatisfied me; its wideness terrified me; from the utmost ends of the earth fears surrounded me.
>
> T. Traherne, *Centuries of Meditations*, iii, 14 and 23.

It is in this mood that bewildered men deny and blaspheme the images. Thus even Blake, whose first and last cry is that "everything that lives is holy," and that the natural joys of the body, sexual and otherwise, are the very gates to full spiritual integration, goes through a period of dualism when, like any manichee, he sets flesh and spirit at enmity and seems to feel a Satanic power in nature. This is the period between the *Songs of Experience* and *The Four Zoas*, when the soul, turned in upon itself and divided against itself by the logical reason, seems to be only a battleground in which the senses war against the spirit. Blake is so difficult a poet that to say anything about him usually involves one in saying far too much; it is perhaps enough to take note here and now that he, too, had to pass through the Dark Wood and the Vision of Hell, and come out by the Way of Affirmation: "I was a slave bound in a mill among beasts and devils. These beasts and these devils are now, together with myself, become children of light and liberty, and my feet and my wife's feet are free from fetters."

If Wordsworth never went down so deep into the Abyss as Blake or Dante, neither—perhaps for that very reason—did he ever ascend the hill of vision with so triumphant a song. I am speaking, of course, of Wordsworth the poet. Except in so far as it is expressed in their poetry, the spiritual experience of poets is no business of ours, and to make pronouncements about it is the height of critical presumption. But what the poet says, and the way he says it, are very much our business.

What Wordsworth says, then, is that when the mystical glory faded from what the eighteenth century called "nature" (that is, the visible creation other than man), he began to find it again in the human soul. So far as one can tell, the process was a gradual one, and perhaps his philosophy of immanence was never very dogmatically defined. But we can trace three stages, which succeed one another logically, though perhaps not, in any rigid sense, chronologically. The first is the intuition of a "presence" exterior to himself, sustaining and

(sometimes) judging him, as on the famous occasion when he stole the game from another boy's snare, and felt

> . . . among the solitary hills
> Low breathings coming after [him], and sounds
> Of undistinguishable motion, steps
> Almost as silent as the earth they trod.

In the next stage, the "presence" is felt both without and within, and he feels himself to be in union with it. This stage is illustrated by the passage I quoted just now from the *Prelude*, or this, which is a cancelled passage from Book II —cancelled perhaps as being more pantheistic than he really meant to be; or because it did not accurately represent his mind at the time he speaks of:—

> By such communion I was early taught
> That what we see of forms and images
> Which float along our minds, and what we feel
> Of active or recognizable thought,
> Prospectiveness, intelligence or will,
> Not only is not worthy to be deemed
> Our being, to be prized as what we are,
> But is the very littleness of life.
> Such consciousnesses seemed but accidents,
> Relapses from the one interior life
> Which is in all things, from that unity
> In which all beings live with God, are lost
> In God and Nature, in one mighty whole
> As indistinguishable as the cloudless east
> At noon is from the cloudless west, when all
> The Hemisphere is one cerulean blue.

This is transitional. The repudiation of "forms and images" shows a turning from the affirmative to the negative way, a redirection of the spiritual eye from the outward to the inward, from the true Other to the true Self; but at the same time "God and Nature" are bracketed together as one thing.

Finally, in the last book of *The Excursion*, the philosophy of age is exalted above the intuitions of youth (despite its tendency to look nostalgically back upon them), and the First Image is categorically denied:—

> Rightly it is said
> That Man descends into the VALE of years;
> Yet have I thought that we might also speak,
> And not presumptuously, I trust, of Age,
> As of a final EMINENCE; though bare
> In aspect and forbidding, yet a point
> On which 'tis not impossible to sit
> In awful sovereignty.
>
> *The Excursion*, ix, 48–55.

From this eminence (which could scarcely be more "bare and forbidding" than the prosaic verse which celebrates it), the ancient sage surveys the summer landscape, and finds that

> . . . the gross and visible frame of things
> Relinquishes its hold upon the sense,
> Yea, almost on the Mind itself, and seems
> All unsubstantialized. . . .
> For on that superior height
> Who sits, is disencumbered from the press
> Of near obstructions, and is privileged
> To breathe in solitude, above the host
> Of ever-humming insects, 'mid thin air
> That suits not them. The murmur of the leaves,
> Many and idle, visits not his ear:
> This he is freed from, and from thousand notes
> (Not less unceasing, not less vain than these),
> By which the finer passages of sense
> Are occupied; and the Soul that would incline
> To listen, is prevented or deterred.
>
> *ibid.*, ix, 63–6, 69–80.

Here is a change indeed! The creation with which the poet once enjoyed a mystical union has become "the gross and visible frame of things"; the sights and sounds of nature have become vain and idle encumbrances, obstructions and deterrents, which are all the better for being "unsubstantialized" (what has become of the Wordsworth who wrote

> And beauty born of murmuring sound
> Did pass into her face?).

The sacred solitude which the "inward eye" once irradiated with bliss has become a privileged and superior isolation. And inspiration has been killed stone dead.

For this poetical disaster it is customary to blame Wordsworth's panic retreat from a broad-minded pantheism into a narrow and institutional Anglican orthodoxy. At this point it may be well to let the Anglican parson speak again:—

> Your enjoyment of the world is never right, till every morning you awake in Heaven; see yourself in your Father's Palace; and look upon the skies, the earth and the air as Celestial Joys. . . . You never enjoy the world aright, till the Sea itself floweth in your veins, till you are clothed with the heavens, and crowned with the stars: and perceive yourself to be the sole heir of the whole world, and more than so, because men are in it who are every one sole heirs as well as you. . . . Till your spirit filleth the whole world, and the stars are your jewels.
>
> T. Traherne, *Centuries of Meditations*, i. 28–30.

Contempt of material things as such is in fact no more orthodox than pantheism —it is the great dualist heresy which always lies in wait for an over-spiritualized Christianity. Let us notice in passing Traherne's use of the word "sole"; you are "sole heir of the whole world," and so is every one else: to be "sole" in this sense is not to be solitary; it is to enjoy, in community, the indivisible treasure.

And now let us hear Dante. He has completed his pilgrimage and purged his mind of distractions; he has re-entered the Garden of Innocence; and he has returned, like a penitent child, to his first love. Not, of course, in actual fact. He could not return to a material Beatrice as Wordsworth could return to a material Tintern. He returned to her in memory, as Wordsworth returned to the immortal intimations of his childhood. Wordsworth had said, recalling the past: "That was how I felt; I cannot feel it now—something better, perhaps, but not that." Dante says, reliving the past in the present: "I felt it then, I feel it now, better but still the same—yesterday, today, and for ever":

d'antico amor sentì la gran potenza.

Purg., xxx, 39.

The difference is a subtle one, not easy to put into words, but plain enough to the ear and mind of the reader. So that, whereas Wordsworth, at 43, is assuming old age and detaching himself from those sensible beauties which had been the inspiration of his boyhood and youth, Dante, at 56, is writing the last cantos of the *Paradiso*. Standing on the threshold of the Empyrean, and preparing to affirm in ringing tones all the great Images one after the other—time and space, form and substance, church and empire, city of earth and city of God, saint and angel, Mary and Christ—he turns to that image of First Love renewed, which has guided him on his journey:

Se quanto infino a qui di lei si dice
fosse conchiuso tutto in una loda,
poco sarebbe a fornir questa vice.

La bellezza ch'io vidi si trasmoda
non pur di là da noi, ma certo io credo
che solo il suo fattor tutta la goda.

Da questo passo vinto mi concedo,
più che giammai da punto di sua tema
soprato fosse comico o tragedo.

Chè, come sole in viso che più trema,
così lo rimembrar del dolce riso
la mente mia di sè medesma scema.

Dal primo giorno ch'io vidi il suo viso
in questa vita, infino a questa vista,
non m'è il seguire al mio cantar preciso;

Ma or convien che mio seguir desista
più retro a sua bellezza, poetando,
come all'ultimo suo ciascuno artista.

Para. xxx, 16–33.

Wordsworth lived through his period of spiritual dryness and, like Blake, found in Incarnate Godhead the resolution of the dualism which had threatened to disintegrate both his personality and his genius. Their surrender is marked by that *umiltà* which is so conspicuously present in the Dante of the *Vita Nuova* and of the *Commedia*, and so conspicuously absent from the Dante of the *Convivio*. What Wordsworth never succeeded in regaining was the Beatrician vision. His gain and failure may be measured by the vision which he saw in the clouds at sunset, and records in the second book of *The Excursion*:

Glory beyond all glory ever seen
By waking sense or by the dreaming soul!
The appearance, instantaneously disclosed,
Was of a mighty city—boldly say
A wilderness of building, sinking far
And self-withdrawn into a boundless depth,
Far sinking into splendour—without end!

The Excursion, ii, 832–8.

The description that follows is of great beauty and almost equal in power to the natural landscapes of the great decade. But it is not a landscape: it is a cloud-scape; and he concludes:—

[The] little Vale, a dwelling-place of Man,
Lay low beneath my feet; 'twas visible—
I saw not, but I felt that it was there.
That which I *saw* was the revealed abode
Of Spirits in beatitude.

ibid., ii, 870–4.

It is, as Mr. John Jones comments, remarkable that his vision should put on the image of the City—for in his earlier days he had cared little for cities, using them as a rule only as vague symbols of the artificial and the degenerate. There is already a movement from solitude towards community. But it is also noteworthy that the vision is not—and Wordsworth takes pains to tell us that it is not—the actual "dwelling-place of Man," transfigured and—in Dante's phrase—"transhumanised." It is not like the visionary London which broods

over the bricks-and-mortar London in Charles Williams's *All Hallows Eve*, nor like Blake's holy city:

> The fields from Islington to Marybone,
> From Primrose Hill to St. John's Wood
> Were builded over with pillars of gold,
> And there Jerusalem's temple stood.

The inhabited vale is on earth; the imaginary vision of the City is built elsewhere and of other material. The spirit of Beatrice has been divorced from her body; the fire has consumed the bush.

It was perhaps fortunate for Dante the poet that his God-bearing Image was the image of a person, for it left him no option but to recognize from the start that devotion must be addressed to a real other. The "presence" discerned in inanimate Nature may cease to be felt as otherness, and may come to seem only the projection of the mind of Man, or even of one's own mind. But there is no getting over the otherness of other people. The smiling face of Nature may indeed sometimes appear to mock one's inner mood, but she does not, as is recorded of the earthly Beatrice, cut one publicly in the street, or laugh at one with her girl friends. It was after this humiliation of public mockery that Dante reached his "point of total commitment," and gave himself over to the praise of his lady, regardless of her favours or his own feelings. He was fortunate also in that the fashion of his time understood and applauded a disinterested love—how fortunate we may see by the contrasting example of Yeats, in whom the Beatrician quality of his love for Maud Gonne was always embittered by a frustrate desire of possession, and by the knowledge that the society in which he lived had little reverence for a sublimated passion. Total commitment in devotion to a real Other involves total acceptance of the rights of that Other, who is loved, as God must be loved, for being what it divinely is, and for no other reason.

I have endeavoured to sketch a certain fundamental pattern in the spiritual experience of four poets who appear to have gone by the same way to the final goal of all vision. Dante, Blake and Traherne attained the goal, and carried their poetry with them; Wordsworth, as a man, did perhaps attain, but somehow lost much of his poetry by the way. I suggest that Wordsworth's comparative failure was due to a turning inward of the spiritual eye, which led to the loss of his authentic inspiration: the intuition of the divine in an Image extraneous to the self. Those who knew him in his old age said that he impressed them as a man "living as in the presence of God by habitual recollection." But, as Professor Lascelles Abercrombie has said, "to live self-conscious in a mystical experience of the Divine Being of the impersonal world, as transcendent as any mystic's experience of his personal God, is to live, as unspeakably *alone*; and that, for many years, was Wordsworth's experience." From this exalted and intolerable solitude, Wordsworth managed to withdraw —first into an effort to find community with his fellow-men, and finally, it

would seem, into communion with a God more personal, and in that sense more orthodox, than the "God of Nature." But in finding this inner peace, he could not take his art with him. To quote Abercrombie again: "the crucial change in Wordsworth was a retreat from that mystical experience of the world which entailed a loneliness he could no longer support. *When he cut himself off from this, he cut off the native inspiration of his poetry.*"

Dante's mysticism was of another kind. Not only was his God personal from the beginning; He manifested Himself throughout by means of persons. Nothing is more remarkable than the absence from his heavenly ascent of any feeling of the "flight of the alone to the Alone." From beginning to end the Images are always with him; his insight into the last mysteries is attained amid a very blaze of publicity, in the burning presence of all the courts of heaven. As Professor Lascelles Abercrombie has said, "it was a mysticism in which he was not alone, but unspeakably befriended."

The Way of Affirmation, if it is a mystical way at all, has received but little attention from the theologians. This is perhaps just as well, for it is pre-eminently the way of the poets, and few poets are as patient as Dante of theological analysis, or able to move so freely within a theological framework. Yet it is, as I have said, characteristically Christian in its outward look, directed upon that which is wholly other, and in its insistence upon the Divine Immanence within the "santa e gloriosa carne." It is by its attention to the sacred significance of the material world that it enables the poet to affirm his proper inspiration: that is why Beatrice, in a passage rather shocking to our moral susceptibilities, stresses the fact that her paramount attraction for Dante lay in her bodily beauty. That is why the union of male and female supplied all Blake's symbols of spiritual integration; why Traherne repeats over and over again that to enjoy God and to enjoy the universe are one and the same thing; why the novels of Charles Williams continually emphasize the perils of a naked encounter of spiritual forces, not mediated through the flesh.

Yet the Way, though neglected and overgrown, has not been left wholly uncharted. Dante is its pioneer, Blake its prophet; Traherne has supplied it with a manual of devotion; Williams has outlined its theology. But it needs more scholars and historians—and this is perhaps as good a reason as any for commending it to the notice of the Universities.

DOROTHY L. SAYERS

SIR PETER DE LA MARE, SPEAKER FOR THE COMMONS IN PARLIAMENT IN 1376 AND 1377

Although the Commons—the elected representatives of shires, cities, and boroughs—were coming to be summoned regularly to parliament by the beginning of Edward III's reign in 1327, it is not until much later that we have certain knowledge of the development of the machinery by which they dealt with their parliamentary business. By 1363, however, the King was allowing them to use a royal clerk to assist their work, the under-clerk of parliament as he was called; and before Edward III's death in 1377 they had a common speaker. But it was apparently only in the previous year, during the famous Good Parliament of 1376, the longest-sitting parliament thus far held, that the Commons employed for the first time a speaker who, elected from among the Commons, continued for parliament's duration to report their proposals to the King and Lords.[1] The man whom they chose, or who in a less precise sense chose himself, was Sir Peter de la Mare, then sitting in parliament as one of the two knights of the shire for the county of Hereford.

It should be pointed out that the enrolled official record of this last but one of Edward III's parliaments makes no reference to De la Mare at all. This need not astonish or trouble us. The parliament-rolls of this time generally give no more than brief and often jejune accounts of what transpired even among the Lords Spiritual and Temporal, much less details of the doings of the Commons. (The first Speaker to be named in the roll of a parliament is mentioned in that of the next parliament, the Bad Parliament of January 1377.) It is, therefore, upon the greater chronicle of the abbey of St. Albans and, more especially, upon the *Anonimalle Chronicle* of the abbey of St. Mary of York that we must rely for what we know of Sir Peter de la Mare's conduct as Speaker in the Good Parliament. That these chronicles, the one written in the south, the other in the north of the country, tell us quite a lot about him and the parliament is in itself significant of the great public interest aroused by what happened during the session.

In 1376 parliament had not met for two and a half years. In not convening it for so long a time as this, the royal government was running something of a risk. Pressure of criticism tended to mount if parliament was not used as a safety-valve for public feeling. So it was in 1376: in the Good Parliament there came to a head much of the discontent generated by the mis-management of

[1] The following abbreviations have been used in the footnotes:
CPR = *Calendar of Patent Rolls*; *CFR* = *Calendar of Fine Rolls*;
CCR = *Calendar of Close Rolls*; PRO = Public Record Office.
For my view of the origins of the Speakership, see my article publ. *Bulletin of the Institute of Historical Research*, Vol. 23, under the title "The Mediaeval Speakers for the Commons in Parliament," pp. 32–5.

the war with France and, also, by the way in which (with Edward III becoming senile and out of touch with affairs of State) the royal administration was being subjected to a system of graft astutely operated, mainly to their private advantage, by a small clique of courtiers and London financiers. The most notorious of these ill-doers, after being impeached by the Commons, were not dealt with by the re-formed royal Council (as the Commons at first seem to have intended), but were eventually judged by the Lords. Among the peers there were clearly some who felt as the Commons did. These certainly included William of Wykeham, Bishop of Winchester, whose rôle in this business, as Mr. McFarlane has noted, was that of Satan rebuking sin, and Edmund Mortimer, Earl of March. Edward the Black Prince, although so ill that he died before the parliament ended, was sympathetic to the Commons' attitude, whereas his next younger surviving brother, John of Gaunt, Duke of Lancaster, cordially disapproved of it.

The Commons acted together in 1376, so contemporary chroniclers imply, with a remarkable sense of responsibility and with enterprise. Undoubtedly, however, Sir Peter de la Mare's leadership and eloquence were a source of strength. So much so that, since he was closely connected with one of the magnates who were dissatisfied at this time, the Earl of March, it has sometimes been urged that it was not the Commons at all who really set the pace in the Good Parliament but rather that they were prompted to take the initiative by the Lords. In other words, it has been argued that the capacity for independent action exercised (and seemingly decisively) in 1376 by the Lower House is illusory, and that a truer indication of the meagreness of its influence is supplied by the annulment of what the Good Parliament had done when parliament next met, early in the following year. (On that occasion Sir Thomas Hungerford, steward and counsellor to John of Gaunt, was the Commons' Speaker.) The question of the Commons' political independence is a large problem which cannot properly be discussed without an examination of a much wider range of evidence and related topics than would be in place here. Suffice it to say that enough is known of the proceedings of the Good Parliament to warrant the suggestion that the Commons were successful in 1376 in procuring the backing of the Lords for their plan to halt corruption in high places, rather than merely acting (subserviently) as the Lords' agents in this business, and that their political excitement was largely of their own generation.

Enough has perhaps been said to justify a detailed study of the career of the Commons' Speaker in the Good Parliament, in so far as it is possible to make one. De le Mare, moreover, was to be Speaker again in the first parliament of Richard II's reign which met in October 1377. Once more on that occasion he was knight of the shire for Herefordshire, and he subsequently represented this county of the Welsh border in five other parliaments: those of January and November 1380, of May and October 1382, and of February 1383.[2] After

[2] *Official Return of Members of Parliament*, i. 193, 198, 204, 206, 210, 212, 214.

1377 he was not again elected Speaker, unless it so happened (which is improbable) in one or other of the two parliaments of 1382, for neither of which is the Speaker's name known.

It is very doubtful whether the De la Mare family of Herefordshire, to which belonged Sir Peter de la Mare, was other than remotely connected with that family of the same name which had estates at Steeple Lavington and elsewhere in Wiltshire, at Baldon Marsh and Lower Heyford (Oxon), at Sparsholt and Aldermaston (Berks), at Cherrington and Minchinhampton (Glos), at Offley (Herts), and in Herefordshire itself at Caradoc-in-Sellack and Treezveryn.[3] These were the estates of a Sir Peter de la Mare who was steward, apparently in the south parts of the Duchy of Lancaster, to Henry of Grosmont (fourth Earl and first Duke of Lancaster). This Sir Peter had died in 1349.[4] His heir, Sir Robert de la Mare, was a feoffee and one of the executors of the will of Henry of Grosmont, and died in 1382, leaving a son and heir, Peter, who was then only thirteen years old.[5] It was this Peter who married Matilda, a daughter of Sir John Mautravers of Hook (Dorset), sometime before the latter's death in 1386; and it was also this Peter who was knighted when a member of the retinue of the Earl of Arundel in March 1387, and who died in 1396.[6] The earlier Sir Peter (who died in 1349) had had at least two other sons besides Sir Robert: Thomas, who was sheriff of Oxfordshire and Berkshire in 1369–71 and a retainer of John of Gaunt in the late 1370's, and Richard. Three brothers, a Thomas, a Richard, and a James de la Mare, in 1389 released to the Speaker's younger brother, Malcolm de la Mare, their rights in certain lands in Shropshire, which suggests kinship between the two families, if, as is possible, these three brothers were the sons of the Sir Peter who died in 1349.[7] This flimsy evidence is, however, all that connects these two De la Mare families. Even if they were related, there is nothing to show that the connection was of any significance. There is no demonstrable evidence to warrant the suggestion, which has sometimes been made, that Sir Peter de la Mare, the Speaker, and Thomas de la Mare, the great Abbot of St. Albans (1349–96), were related by family ties, and the very silence of the St. Albans chronicles on this question would seem to point to an absence of kinship, especially because their references to Sir Peter are uniformly encomiastic.

Sir Peter de la Mare the Speaker was seemingly the elder of the two sons of the Sir Reynold de la Mare who in 1349 and 1350 had been a collector of parliamentary tenths and fifteenths in Herefordshire, who in 1352 was pardoned for not having taken the order of knighthood before Ascensiontide 1335, but who had become a knight by November 1358 when, described as such, he complained

[3] R. Clutterbuck, *The History and Antiquities of the county of Hertford*, iii. 99, 100; T. D. Fosbroke, *Abstracts of records and manuscripts respecting the county of Gloucester*, i. 382.

[4] *Cal. Papal Registers, Petitions*, i. 133; R. Somerville, *History of the Duchy of Lancaster*, i. 88; *Cal. of Inqs. p.m.* IX. 309; *ibid.*, XI. 3; *CPR, passim.*

[5] *CPR, 1358–61*, 575; *ibid., 1361–4*, 495.

[6] R. Clutterbuck, *loc. cit.*; P.R.O., Exchequer, Foreign Accounts, E101/40/33; *Collectanea Topographica et Genealogica*, IV. 179; VI. 335.

[7] *Cal. of Inqs.p.m.* X. 98; *Catalogue of Ancient Deeds*, IV. A 8934.

of an assault upon himself at Greet in Shropshire.[8] The Speaker's younger brother, Malcolm, was knight of the shire for Herefordshire in the Cambridge parliament of September 1388 and sheriff of the county in 1392–3; he had been appointed a collector of parliamentary subsidies in Herefordshire in December 1384, December 1385, and January 1392, and was to be so again, not long before he died, in May 1398.[9] In 1384 Malcolm and his wife Alice were holding for her lifetime the manor of Kidderminster as tenants of the Sir John Beauchamp of Holt who was created baron by royal patent in 1387 but executed for "treason" in the Merciless Parliament of the following year. Malcolm had also lands in Shropshire, but the main family estates in Herefordshire, such as they were, were in the possession of his elder brother, the Speaker.

Sir Peter de la Mare was holding the manor of Little Hereford in the north of the county and within easy reach of Ludlow, and the manor of Yatton in the south-east on 2 November 1382 when, by a final concord levied in the Court of Common Pleas at Westminster, between Malcolm and his wife (as claimants) and his own feoffees (as deforciants), it was arranged that the manors should pass to the former after the death of Sir Peter who held them for life. Little Hereford, as two knights' fees, was held in mesne-tenancy of the Bohuns, as was also half a knight's fee in Morecote (near Evesham) in Gloucestershire. In December 1384, when Mary, one of the daughters and co-heirs of Humphrey de Bohun, Earl of Hereford and Essex, and wife of Henry of Bolingbroke, then Earl of Derby, proved her age, the overlordship of these estates formed part of her purparty. Yatton was held in mesne-tenancy of the Mortimers, Earls of March, who themselves held it in chief of the Crown.[10] It was this Mortimer connexion which proved of greater importance in Sir Peter de la Mare's career, but for other and more powerful reasons than those arising out of the tenurial relationship. And well might it be so, for Roger, the son of his lord, Edmund, third Earl of March, and of Philippa, only daughter of Lionel, Duke of Clarence (the third son of Edward III), was to be, following the death of the Black Prince in June 1376, next heir to the English throne after Richard of Bordeaux by normal feudal rules of inheritance.

It is not possible to say when De la Mare entered Edmund Mortimer's service. When, however, he was first elected to parliament in 1376 he was already the earl's seneschal, as both the St. Albans chronicle and the *Anomimalle Chronicle* of St. Mary's abbey, York, tell us.[11] But whether steward of household or steward of estates, is not made known. As early as October 1371, and certainly for six years before that date if for no longer, De la Mare was appar-

[8] *The Genealogist*, N.S., XV. 152; *CFR, 1347–56*, 195, 270; *CPR, 1350–4*, 262; *ibid. 1358–61*, 160.

[9] *Official Return*, i. 234; PRO, *Lists and Indexes*, Vol. IX, *List of Sheriffs*, 60; *CFR, 1383–91*, 69, 115; *ibid., 1391–9*, 25, 263.

[10] *CPR, 1381–5*, 460; *ibid., 1388–92*, 80; *ibid., 1399–1401*, 349; *CCR, 1381–5*, 512–3; *Ancient Deeds, loc. cit.*; *DNB*, V. 751.

[11] *Chronicon Angliae* (Rolls Series), ed. E. M. Thompson, 108; *The Anominalle Chronicle*, ed. V. H. Galbraith, 82 ("un chevaler de marche de Gales et seneschalle al count de la Marche").

ently responsible for the collection of the royal tolls from the iron mines of the royal forest of Dean, an office which he may very well have held by the appointment of Guy Lord Brian, who was keeper of this forest and had been since 1341.[12] The Mortimer connexion, however, was undoubtedly the dominant factor in De la Mare's career. To it may have been indirectly due his appointment as sheriff of Herefordshire, which office he held from 12 December 1372 to 17 July 1373, for this appointment roughly coincided with Earl Edmund's emergence.[13] Certainly, before the end of 1373 there is proof of the connexion.

In January 1373 Edward III had been approached with demands from Ireland that the Earl of March should take steps to protect in person his estates in Meath, Ulster, and Connaught, the idea being that, if the earl did this and other absentee lords did likewise, Irish taxation for defence against the rebels in the colony would be unnecessary. Mortimer was ordered to go. But the government of Ireland was not entrusted to him. It was, in fact, Sir William de Windsor, who had returned from Ireland under a cloud in March 1372, who went back in April 1374 as again the King's Lieutenant.[14] Possibly Mortimer was resentful of being passed over for the appointment. (This is not without interest in view of the attack that was to be made in the Good Parliament against Alice Perrers, Edward III's mistress, for by then Sir William de Windsor was her husband.) Late in 1373, however, there was apparently still some prospect of the earl taking a force to Ireland, because on 5 November 1373 royal commissions went out authorizing the impressment and arming of 140 picked mounted-archers from the Mortimer lordships in the English shires on the Welsh border and another sixty-four from the earl's fiefs in the home counties and East Anglia, who were to be made ready to go to Ireland (when summoned) in the earl's company and at his costs. Sir Peter de la Mare was one of the commission appointed for Herefordshire, Worcestershire, and Shropshire. It also contained the Abbot of Wigmore, a house of Augustinian canons of which the earl was hereditary patron, Sir John Talbot of Richard's Castle, who had been a member of the retinue of Lionel, Duke of Clarence (Mortimer's father-in-law), and Sir Ralph Lingen, who was to accompany the earl when (as King's Lieutenant) he did eventually go to Ireland in 1380 and who, at this moment, was representing Herefordshire in the 1373 parliament.

Little more than a year later—on 24 November 1374—the Earl of March was granted a royal licence under the Great Seal to make an enfeoffment of certain of his castles, lordships, and manors, mainly in the Welsh border counties and including his castles and property at Ludlow, Radnor, Cnwclas (Radnorshire),

[12] *CCR, 1369–74,* 258. (On 8 October 1371 the Upper Exchequer was ordered to cease to demand an account from Lord Brian and De la Mare and to discharge them of all distraints arising out of inquisitions held before William of Wykeham as late keeper of the royal forests south of Trent, provided that the tolls were regarded as part of the profits of the forest of Dean. Peter had been indicted of keeping the tolls for six years.)

[13] *List of Sheriffs,* 60.

[14] H. G. Richardson and G. O. Sayles, *The Irish Parliament in the Middle Ages,* 82. It was not until May 1380 that March went to Ireland, but then it was as the King's Lieutenant and "not primarily to enforce order in his own lands."

and Blaenllyfni and Dinas (Breconshire), all held in chief of the Crown. The feoffees were headed by a select group of Court and State officials—William Lord Latimer (the King's acting-Chamberlain), Richard Lord Scrope (the Treasurer), Nicholas de Carrew (the Keeper of the Privy Seal)—followed by a number of Mortimer administrators or retainers—Sir Peter de la Mare himself, John de Bishopston (a clerk who had been a feoffee and executor to the earl's father), Walter de Collumpton clerk, and Hugh de Boraston (one of the earl's attorneys in Ireland and sometime steward of the earl's lordship of Wigmore). The feoffees were to hold the estates in trust for life with remainder to a group of men in reserve—Bishop Sudbury of London, Bishop Wykeham of Winchester, Bishop Courtenay of Hereford (who, on 11 April 1374 at Usk, had baptized the earl's first son Roger), Sir Roger Beauchamp of Bletsoe (who was to follow Lord Latimer as acting-Chamberlain during the Good Parliament of 1376), and John de Birdwood (a clerk who was at this time another of the earl's attorneys in Ireland). The estate of all the original feoffees (save Lord Latimer, who died in 1381) was to be ratified after the earl's death by a royal patent of 14 March 1383, a few days after the dissolution of De la Mare's last parliament. In the meantime, on 20 January 1380, not long after Earl Edmund's appointment as Lieutenant of Ireland but before his departure from England, the estates in trust were leased to the earl for twenty years at a nominal rent of £100 a year.

When, on 1 May 1380 at Denbigh, immediately before he left for Ireland, the earl made his last will, he appointed Sir Peter de la Mare as one of the executors. Among the others were William Courtenay, now Bishop of London, Bishop John Gilbert of Hereford, Henry, Earl of Northumberland, whose son had married Mortimer's elder daughter, and Walter de Collumpton, one of the feoffees. The overseers of the will were Archbishop Sudbury of Canterbury, Philippa, Dowager Countess of March, the testator's mother, and Richard Lord Scrope of Bolton. The archbishop was murdered during the Peasants' Revolt in the following June, and the dowager countess survived her son by little more than a week, so that soon after Earl Edmund's death, on 27 December 1381, of the overseers only Lord Scrope survived. It was perhaps of some comfort to the executors and feoffees that at this time he was Chancellor of England.[15]

It is clear that throughout his parliamentary career—he represented Herefordshire in seven out of the eleven parliaments that sat in and between 1376 and 1383—Sir Peter de la Mare was intimately attached to the Mortimer interest. It was for the first time that he was elected as knight of the shire to the Good Parliament which met at Westminster on 28 April 1376 and lasted until 10 July following. In this unprecedentedly long session, as part of their programme of reform, a direct attack was made by the Commons on a number of royal ministers and agents. This was done in a series of impeachments, the most important of which were eventually entertained by the peers acting in their judicial capacity. Chief among the members of the court camarilla arraigned, especially on related

[15] *CPR, 1370–4*, 353; *ibid., 1374–7*, 34; *ibid., 1381–5*, 271; *CCR, 1377–81*, 365; *CPR, 1385–9*, 29; J. Nichols, *Royal Wills*, 104–16.

charges of financial corruption, was the acting-Chamberlain, Lord Latimer. He was one of the Mortimer feoffees: and yet, in these attacks, De la Mare, who, early but not quite at the beginning of the session, had been chosen by the Commons to speak for them before the King and Lords, played a commanding rôle. Although, as has been said, he is not mentioned at all on the actual roll of the parliament, the narratives of the St. Albans chronicler and the anonymous writer of St. Mary's abbey at York make this perfectly clear, as do also subsequent events.[16] De la Mare, in fact, became a popular hero, and verses were composed extolling his attitude and audacious eloquence.

It is highly probable that De la Mare's lord, the Earl of March, was sympathetic to the Commons' attack on the court party. Mortimer's attitude to John of Gaunt, who acted during Edward III's illness as his lieutenant in the parliament and who seems to have been inclined to regard the Commons' proceedings as an indirect attack on himself, was one of hostility. Perhaps this was because Lancaster was already, in view of the fatal illness of the Black Prince, taking steps to exclude the Mortimer claim to a place in the line of succession to the throne. However that may be, Mortimer was one of the four earls whom, along with four bishops and four other temporal lords, the Commons chose to help them to formulate their demands for reform. It is also worth pointing out that another of the earls on this liaison-committee was Hugh, Earl of Stafford, who had his connexions with Mortimer—on 21 November 1375 at Ludlow he had assisted as godfather at the baptism of the Earl of March's third child, his second daughter Philippa, and the Countess of Stafford had then held the child for its confirmation. Moreover, one of the four bishops of the committee, William Courtenay of London, when formerly Bishop of Hereford had baptized Mortimer's first two children, was one of his reserve-feoffees, and was to be one of his executors. Among the four barons of the committee was Henry Percy, whose son (Hotspur) was to marry Mortimer's elder daughter and who was himself to be made one of the Earl of March's executors; another was Guy Lord Brian, with whom De la Mare himself most probably had a connexion; and perhaps one more was Sir Roger Beauchamp of Bletsoe, who was another of Mortimer's reserve-feoffees. All of these five men and the earl himself were to be among the nine lords whom Edward III was advised (by a deputation from the Upper House) to accept as counsellors when De la Mare, on the Commons' behalf, demanded in parliament that the Council should be re-formed and "afforced" by three bishops, three earls, and three barons. Among the three others proposed to the King and accepted by him to make up the Council were two more reserve-feoffees of the Earl of March: Archbishop Sudbury (eventually an overseer of the earl's will) and Bishop Wykeham of Winchester. It would not be safe to say that this new Council was one dominated by the Earl of March, or even that it had a distinctly Mortimer complexion, but it was certainly made up of men with a majority of whom the earl was connected and whom, for the pursuance of his private affairs, he regarded

[16] *The Anonimalle Chronicle, ed. cit.*, 82–94; *Chronicon Angliae, ed. cit.*, 72–81, 392.

as useful and perhaps trustworthy. The same idea conceivably might be urged of Lord Latimer who remained one of the Mortimer feoffees under the original settlement of November 1374, but it is worth noting that no mention was to be made of Latimer in the Earl of March's will (drawn up in May 1380), not even as a beneficiary. The way in which Lancaster soon effected Latimer's pardon and restoration to royal favour after his impeachment in the Good Parliament and his condemnation there to loss of office, imprisonment, and exclusion from the Court, had inevitably bound the ex-Chamberlain to the ducal group.

Before the end of this parliament the Commons were deprived, by the death of the Black Prince on 8 June 1376, of the support of one whom they had good reason to believe to be in sympathy with their objects. (It is worth remarking that in his last moments the Prince was attended by the Bishop of Bangor, who, at Ludlow in the previous November, had confirmed Mortimer's second son Edmund.) Despite (or perhaps because of) the disheartening effect of this event, the parliament ended a month later (on 10 July 1376) in an atmosphere of apparent cordiality, the Speaker and the knights of the shire putting on a feast for certain of the Lords (who did not include Lancaster but did include his two surviving brothers and the Earl of March), the Mayor and some influential citizens of London, and other burgesses attending the parliament. But before Edward III's death most of what the Good Parliament did had been annulled. In next to no time, Latimer was back at Court. Quite soon even the newly-appointed Council was dismissed. This policy was followed up in a Great Council which met in the autumn of 1376, when a virulent attack was contrived against Bishop Wykeham, Mortimer's old guardian and an enemy of Lancaster. And its results were confirmed in the last parliament of the reign, which met in January 1377. Already, the Earl of March had been forced to resign the office of Marshal of England in favour of Henry Percy. In the meantime, none of the petitions of the Good Parliament resulted in statutes, and the Commons' Speaker, De la Mare, suffered imprisonment for his recent boldness.

Proceedings against Sir Peter de la Mare do not seem to have been initiated until the end of November 1376 when he was summoned to appear at Court. It was Alice Perrers (the King's mistress who had been successfully attacked in the Good Parliament), Lord Latimer, and Sir Richard Stury (a knight of the King's Chamber) who were responsible for this move, according to the St. Albans chronicle. Its story says that De la Mare was not allowed to answer but, without proper legal process, was imprisoned at Nottingham castle. One rumour had it that Lancaster ordered his execution and that such a course was only prevented by Lord Percy; another, that, at the instigation of Alice Perrers, Sir Peter was actually adjudged to death by the King, the execution of the sentence being prevented by Lancaster. Whatever may be the truth of this "judgment," De la Mare was certainly imprisoned: on 27 November 1376 orders by royal letters close were sent both to the constable of Nottingham castle and to the Earl of Cambridge as constable of Dover castle to receive and

safe-keep him in prison until further notice; but it was to Nottingham that he went.[17] He was not forgotten.

Even during the Bad Parliament of January 1377, when Lancaster had it nearly all his own way, a few of the knights of the shire, re-elected members of the Good Parliament, at great risk to themselves, so the St. Albans chronicle tells us, tried to get the Commons unanimously to demand De la Mare's liberation on the grounds that he was prepared to answer all charges in the presence of the Lords and submit himself to their judgment. Sir Peter's friends did not succeed: but hostility to Lancaster was growing among the magnates, among the prelates who refused to do business in Convocation until Bishop Wykeham was allowed to take his place among them there, and especially, during February, in the City, where the Londoners rallied to the support of their bishop (William Courtenay) when Lancaster violently supported the heretic, John Wycliffe, at his examination before the bishops in St. Paul's. During the ensuing riot, from which Lancaster and his present short-term ally, Lord Percy, only with difficulty escaped, an unfortunate priest who spoke with contempt of De la Mare as a traitor who ought to have been hanged years ago was so badly mauled by the city mob, we are told, that he soon afterwards died. We are also informed that the Londoners were then demanding that the former Speaker be set free, and that, when arbiters were appointed by the Black Prince's widow to bring Lancaster and the citizens to see reason, the latter repeated their demand, requiring Lancaster to allow Bishop Wykeham and De la Mare a proper trial by process of law. On 18 June 1377 Wykeham was restored to the temporalities of his see, of which he had been deprived. The reign of Edward III was now all but over, but it was not until eight days after the old king's death that De la Mare's release was ordered on 30 June.

Sir Peter hastened to London to thank the new sovereign, Richard II, for clemency, receiving on his way, according to the St. Albans chronicle, a welcome recalling that given to Thomas Becket on his return from exile; the Londoners especially made much of him with presents and feasting. According to this St. Albans source again, De la Mare was given a royal pardon of all that could be alleged against him, and this statement at least is confirmed by the terms of the royal order to release him: "the King, by the advice of the Council, fully remitted his contempt." When, on 5 August 1378, with the assent of the Council, 50 marks were given him by assignment at the Lower Exchequer as a *donum* for past and future service to the present King and *in exoneracione anime Regis Edwardi*, he was stated in the record to have been detained at Nottingham for thirty-three weeks and more by the late King's precept, *certis de causis irracionabilibus*; on 11 February 1380 he was further paid £15 12s. 6d. at the Exchequer to discharge and acquit him towards Sir John Dabridgecourt, constable of Nottingham castle, to whom he was bound by letters of obligation,

[17] *Chronicon Angliae, ed. cit.*, 105, 392–3; *CCR, 1374–7*, 397; W. Dugdale, *Monasticon Anglicanum* (ed. Caley, Ellis, and Bandinel, 1817–30), Vol. VI, part 1, p. 354.

presumably for his upkeep when detained there. With this payment the incident of his imprisonment was doubtless considered closed.[18]

It is not very surprising that when Richard II's first parliament met, in October 1377, Sir Peter de la Mare, once more returned for Herefordshire, was again elected Speaker for the Commons. Two out of every three of his fellow knights of the shire had had previous parliamentary experience, nearly half of these (twenty-two out of the fifty-one) in the Good Parliament. Sir Peter's lord, the Earl of March, was one of those members of the royal Council, appointed at the very beginning of the reign, who continued to act when the Council was re-constituted during the parliament. This was in response to a petition of the Commons, and to that extent this new Council may be said to have been "fortified by parliamentary sanction" (Tout). The Commons reverted in other ways to the programme of the Good Parliament, for example, in their renewal of the demand for the nomination in parliament of certain of the major officials of State and of the royal Household, a requirement which (like so many demands made in this parliament) harked back to the substance, and even to the phraseology, of the Ordinances of 1311. With regard to the more important officials, the request was favourably met. The Commons' petition that those attendant on the person of the young King should also be nominated in parliament was virtually refused by the Lords. Another leading demand, that no law passed by parliament should be repealed without its consent, was, however, granted. Moreover, Lord Latimer was again removed from his membership of the Council (in which, restored by Edward III, he had been confirmed immediately after Richard II's coronation). The end of the parliamentary session, after the Commons had gone down on 28 November, saw the confirmation by the Lords of their judgment against Alice Perrers in the Good Parliament. Well satisfied by what had already been done before they departed, the Commons had voted a double subsidy (two tenths and two fifteenths), the proceeds being, however, ear-marked for the war with France and subjected to the control of special war-treasurers, two of their own number, the aldermen-members for the City of London. The results of the session, political and constitutional, were once more to prove short-lived.

Sir Peter de la Mare was not again, so far as we are aware, to be elected as Speaker for the Commons. Indeed, he did not even sit in either of the next two parliaments, although the first to meet did so (in October 1378) so near his home as Gloucester. He was not, in fact, again returned until January 1380. In the meantime, when the first parliament of the reign was only a week old, on 20 October 1377 he had stood surety for the English representative of the French Benedictine abbey of Lire, who (under the Exchequer) had farmed the English possessions of this monastery since the resumption of the war with France in 1369 and who was now confirmed in the custody. On 27 May 1379 De la Mare was appointed to the commission set up to assess in Herefordshire the recently

[18] *Chronicon Angliae, ed. cit.*, 112–3, 124, 126, 150–1; *CCR, 1377–81*, 7; Exchequer, Issue Rolls, E403/468, mem. 11; *ibid.*, E403/475, mem. 14.

granted, graduated poll-tax, and he was re-appointed on 8 August following to remedy defects in the assessment, especially errors of omission or under-assessment. In Easter term 1381, the Barons of the Exchequer were to take account of De la Mare's failure to act as a controller of a parliamentary subsidy in Herefordshire. It would appear that it was his neglect of this commission over the 1379 poll-tax which was in question. The royal writ issued on 3 May 1381 which excused De la Mare's neglect of the commission, did so on the grounds that he had been in Ireland at the time; describing him as retained for life by the Earl of March to serve him in war and peace, it stated that De la Mare *ad proficiscendum in dictam terram ad arraiandum pro adventu dicti comitis in terram illam ordinatus fuit.* . . . This preparation for the earl's arrival in Ireland De la Mare is most likely to have performed between the earl's appointment (for three years) as Lieutenant of Ireland in October 1379 and January 1380 when De la Mare was once more elected to parliament.[19]

The January parliament of 1380 had been in session only four days when the earl's feoffees, De la Mare among them, leased him back his estates for twenty years. Within a week of the end of the parliament (on 9 March), De la Mare was party with the Dean of Dublin to a mainprise in Chancery for John FitzRery, the King's Escheator in Ireland, who stood indicted for felony and trespass; the sureties undertook his appearance in Ireland. It looks as though Mortimer was already putting himself in close touch with Irish affairs. Although in no great hurry to leave England, the earl was soon clearly completing his preparations: on 19 April 1380 he appointed his attorneys in England for one year, De la Mare among them, and on 1 May, at Denbigh, he drew up his will, appointing De la Mare to be one of the executors. Within a fortnight Mortimer had crossed to Ireland. De la Mare obviously remained behind in England, and on 26 May 1380 he was for the first time made a justice of the peace in Herefordshire.[20]

In the autumn of 1380, De la Mare was re-elected knight of the shire to the parliament which sat at Northampton from 5 November to 6 December and which did so much to provoke the outbreak of the Peasants' Revolt of the following year by its grant of a poll-tax of three groats, that is, of a shilling a head. He was not this time even charged with any of the work of assessment or collection, but when the great rising had practically spent itself he was appointed to a number of local royal commissions set up to deal with the disorders created by it; he was made a member of the commission appointed on 7 July 1381 to make proclamation in Herefordshire that the rebels had murdered Archbishop Sudbury, the Chancellor, Sir Robert Hales, the Treasurer, and Chief Justice Cavendish, to forbid unlawful assemblies, and, under an authority to array loyal men, to organize resistance to any rebels in the county. Later in the same year, on 14 December, he was put on the Herefordshire commission to keep the peace,

[19] *CFR, 1377–83*, 24, 143, 163; Exchequer, Q.R. Memoranda Roll, PRO, E159/157 (I owe this reference to the kindness of Dr. G. A. Holmes of St. Catherine's Society, Oxford).
[20] *CCR, 1377–81*, 361; *CPR, 1377–81*, 459, 515.

its members being empowered to arrest those gathering unlawfully and to put down rebels, with force if necessary; on 8 March 1382 the commission was renewed, the commissioners being now authorized to call out the *posse comitatus* and to use powers of oyer and terminer.[21] In the meantime, on 28 April 1381 De la Mare was appointed for two years by Henry de Cornewaile, a member of the Earl of March's household and retinue in Ireland, as one of his attorneys in England, his fellow-attorney being Roger Nash, a clerk in the Mortimer service and the holder of a living in the earl's patronage at Kingsland. On 8 August 1381 De la Mare and one of his co-feoffees in the Mortimer estates were confirmed in their position of attorneys to the earl. On 30 August Sir Peter was ordered at his peril to be before the Upper Exchequer on the morrow of Michaelmas prepared to account for such of the income of the chancellorship of the cathedral church of Hereford as had come into his hands during 1381. This office, taken away by Pope Urban VI from the Cardinal of Glandèves, one of those schismatic members of the Sacred College who in 1378 had been responsible for electing the anti-pope, Clement VII, had been recently conferred on the Cardinal of Perugia, whose proctors in England had granted the fruits of the office to the King for this year. It very much looks as if De la Mare was connected in some administrative capacity with the cathedral authorities of his own diocese, but unfortunately no other record has been found to throw light on the nature of this relationship.[22]

On 27 December 1381 De la Mare's lord, the Earl of March, died at Cork, and his body was brought back to England for burial in the abbey church at Wigmore, which he himself had done much to rebuild. Earl Edmund's heir, Roger, was then only seven years old and so became a royal ward. Those Mortimer lands originally enfeoffed in 1374 were excluded from the wardship and remained with the trustees, of whom De la Mare was still one; the earlier settlement was ratified under the great seal on 14 March 1383. Within three months of the death of the earl (on 13 March 1382), in company with Bishop Gilbert of Hereford and Roger Nash, clerk, Sir Peter was granted by the royal Council the custody of the demesne lands under plough in some twenty-eight Mortimer manors in Monmouthshire and in other counties of eastern and southern England, on condition that at Michaelmas following they rendered at the Exchequer the value of the customary works of the tenants and 6d. per acre of land. De la Mare was also, of course, doubtless active as one of the late earl's executors.[23]

In spite of the death of his lord, De la Mare remained influential in local circles for some little time yet to come. He was elected to three parliaments on the run, to the May and October parliaments of 1382 and to the February

[21] *CPR, 1381–5*, 71, 73, 86, 138.

[22] *Ibid., 1377–81*, 618. In March 1387 Nash was to be appointed the King's receiver in Cardiganshire and in July following as chamberlain and receiver in other parts of South Wales. *Ibid., 1381–5*, 31; 16. Henry de Cornewaile had been present at Denbigh when Edmund Mortimer made his will. [*Royal Wills, loc. cit.*]

[23] *CPR, 1381–5*, 271; *CFR, 1377–83*, 288; *CPR, 1385–9*, 29.

parliament of 1383, but after this last occasion he never again acted as knight of the shire. He had not been included in the Herefordshire commission of the peace in December 1382, nor was he at any later time. In fact, although his younger brother Malcolm was to be knight of the shire in the autumn parliament of 1388 and sheriff in 1392–3, Sir Peter was to serve on no further royal commissions, locally or elsewhere, and he soon passes abruptly and almost completely out of view. At some time between June 1384 and May 1387, however, as feoffees of Sir Richard Burley, K.G., in the castles and lordships of Dorstone (Herefordshire) and Newland (Glos), he and some others settled these and other Burley estates on Sir Richard and his wife Beatrice, a daughter of Ralph, Earl of Stafford, and formerly widow successively of the Earl of Desmond and Thomas Lord Roos of Helmsley. Newland, Dorstone, and some other estates in Herefordshire were held in mesne-tenancy of the Earls of March, and this may account for De la Mare's inclusion among the feoffees. Sir Richard had died in May 1387 serving with John of Gaunt in Spain, but the estates had come into the King's hands in 1388 by reason of the forfeiture of Sir Richard's uncle, Sir Simon Burley, who was impeached and executed during the Merciless Parliament of that year. This is the last notice of De la Mare that we have.[24]

Precisely when Sir Peter died is not known, but it was almost surely before his brother Malcolm. Certainly, both were dead by 1400. The brothers died without issue, the family holding at Yatton eventually going to their cousin Margaret's son, Roger Seymour.[25]

It will have been realized that the little we know about Sir Peter de la Mare concerns the last twenty years of his life, and that in this period his career is really only very dimly illumined except in the closing stages of Edward III's reign and in the opening phase of that of his successor, Richard II. Our notice is inevitably drawn to the time when De la Mare was Speaker in 1376 and 1377, and for what knowledge is given us of this period when he briefly attracted the close attention of the government of the day and became the cynosure of his contemporaries we must be grateful. It certainly has the value of showing us how the Commons' Speaker began his institutional career as a leader of debate and political opposition and, our examination of De la Mare's career suggests, as something of a political partisan. Very soon the Speaker's potential capacity for managing the Commons was officially appreciated, and the government realized that it would be all to the good if he were able to represent the King in the Lower House of parliament as well as the Commons in the Upper House. Certainly, not long after De la Mare was Speaker, the Chancellor, when opening parliament on the King's behalf, actually began to instruct the Commons to proceed to the election of a Speaker, which then received the King's approval. The function had already become an office. Many of the mediaeval Speakers were royal servants, which in the strict sense Sir Peter de la Mare never was. Most of his successors in the office were men in the thick of affairs of State in

[24] *CPR, 1391–6*, 81; *CCR, 1385–9*, 502, 524–5, 543.
[25] *The Genealogist, loc. cit.* in n. 8.

an age when political life was often full of hazard to person and property, and some of them were to come by untimely ends. But this was not because the Speakership was in itself a dangerous occupation. Only one of the mediaeval Speakers suffered directly and expressly for his acts as Speaker: and he was the first of them, Sir Peter de la Mare.

J. S. Roskell

ON TRANSLATING THE *DIVINA COMMEDIA*[1]

Any translator of Dante is nowadays in an awkward position. Hundreds of translations have already appeared—in prose, in blank verse, in *terza rima*, in blank *terza rima*, in octosyllabic *terza rima*, in heroic couplets, in Spenserian stanzas, in Marvellian quatrains, and I know not what besides. If he supposes that he is going to surpass all his predecessors, he is in danger of appearing a presumptuous ass. If he modestly admits that he cannot surpass them, then he *is* a presumptuous ass—since what reason, except an overweening personal vanity, can he possibly have for demanding that the world should buy and read an inferior version which has no recommendation except that it is his?

There is however one consideration which a little reduces the apparent presumption of every new attempt at translating the *Commedia*. No translation of any great classic can ever in the nature of things be definitive; for each one necessarily takes some colour from the age in which it is written, and to that extent falsifies its original. As time goes on, it becomes dated and alien; we cannot now read Pope's *Iliad* without feeling the English eighteenth century descend like a thick curtain between us and Homer's Greece; that which was transparent to Pope's contemporaries is opaque to us. For this reason, all great works should be retranslated from time to time, lest we should have to wrestle with two strange frames of discourse instead of one.

But this is not all. It is in the nature of things impossible that any translation should give us the *whole* of the original work, especially if that work is a poem. Something, somewhere, is always lost, modified, to some extent travestied in passing from one language to the other. A prose translation, however literally exact, loses, precisely, the rhythmic enchantment of the verse; a verse-translation not only is bound to be less verbally exact but also alters the original rhythms. No translation can be identical with its original; it takes colour from the age, the language and the personality of the translator. There is, therefore, always room for a new one, for there is always the chance that some value previously sacrificed may, this time, be salvaged, some emphasis readjusted, some unintentional distortion straightened out.

I do not propose to lead you, yet again, over the trampled battle-field of *a priori* argument about what the aims of a good translation should be: whether to be verbally exact and no more; or to write the kind of poem the writer would have written in his own age if he had happened to live in our country, or (on the other hand) what he would have written if he were writing in our country today; whether to try to reproduce the effect produced by the original on the original readers, or the effect produced on our own contemporaries by reading the original now; whether to preserve a foreign flavour in idiom and metre,

[1] This article was read as a paper in August 1954 as part of a course for Italian teachers of English organized by the British Council at Girton College, Cambridge, with Dr. Barbara Reynolds as Director of Studies.

or to aim simply at writing a readable work in our native idiom and native rhythm. Life is short; and, to tell you the truth, any translator is lucky if he can live up to a quarter of his own theory. What he usually does is to grapple with his task as best he can; then read up the rival theories; and finally construct a theory of his own to explain and defend his practice. In this spirit I will deal with these and other problems only as one encounters them, in practice, when trying to translate the *Divine Comedy*.

Now, the translation on which I am at present engaged is aimed, very particularly, at reaching the "common reader." That is its chief excuse for existing. I must begin by admitting that this country is not, nowadays, very conscious (as we say) of Dante. Things have changed a great deal since the last century, when England was the nursing-mother of a very great tradition of Dante scholarship. At that time also, Italian was the "second language" which nearly all well-educated young women studied at home or in their finishing schools in addition to French; while their brothers, well grounded in Latin, found little difficulty in learning to speak and read Italian when the time came for them to travel abroad, as most of them did, in vacation or on leaving the University, to see the sights and the picture-galleries and obtain a little knowledge of the world. For those who could not afford such expensive educational luxuries, but who realized that some acquaintance with Dante was fashionable, there were various translations, of which incomparably the best-known was that of H. F. Cary. He was the first great English "vulgariser" of Dante, who translated him into the Miltonic blank verse which was, in his time, the recognized medium for any long and important English narrative poem. You may say that right up to the last few decades of the century, when the Brownings and Rossettis were writing, and every one was following with great excitement the fortunes of the Italian *risorgimento*, all decently-educated persons of the upper and middle classes could be counted on to take an intelligent interest in Dante, or at least not to look perfectly blank at the mention of his name. And in most of their houses you would find the volumes of the *Commedia*, either in Italian or in English, very often handsomely illustrated with Flaxman's refined copper-plates or with the more modern, moving and theatrical steel-engravings of the ever-popular Doré.

As for the lower-middle class and the workers, they did not count in this connexion. They were wrestling with education at a more primitive level; and it was sufficiently laudable in them to be able to read English, and to throng the galleries of the Lyceum and the Old Vic to see the plays of Shakespeare.

But already by the middle of the century the cultural swing-over from Italian to German had begun; and by the date of my own schooldays it was complete. We had all heard of Dante; but we read Goethe and Schiller. Already the two great movements to which Dante had been a living inspiration—the Romantic movement in literature and the Tractarian movement in the Church of England —were losing their original impetus and developing into new forms and other activities. Already the new interest in the sciences was beginning to oust the

Humanities from school and university. And already the improvement of the general level of education among the working classes was releasing into the literary world a vast mass of book-hungry readers whose appetites were not ruled by any of the traditional canons of civilized taste. Fifty years of social development and two catastrophic wars have increased and accelerated these changes. The gulf between 1854 and 1954 is perhaps as wide a gulf as was ever spanned by a single century.

We are, in fact, faced in England today with an enormous new reading public —literate, but not (in the old sense of the word) educated; eagerly and indeed anxiously interested in religious questions, but for the most part very incompletely instructed in the Christian faith; internationally minded, but mostly ignorant of any language but their own; haunted by social problems, but with little historical sense, and cut off by the bias of their education from that heritage of Mediterranean culture which, as late even as my own youth, every middle-class child sucked in instinctively with its mother's milk; and moreover—let us face it—perennially short of time, leisure and money. It is to people like these, ranging from boys and girls in the upper forms, through university students of all types, to the intelligent suburban housewife and office-worker who snatch their culture at odd moments—at lunch, in the train, or on such evenings at home as are not taken up with television—that it is the translator's task to present the most profound, the most subtle, the most civilized, the most Catholic, the most intellectual and the most exalted of all Christian poets—perhaps of all poets without qualification: a poet whose living voice is made inaudible to them by an alien language, an alien cosmology, and six intervening centuries of religious and political confusion.

The Penguin *Dante* is, I think, the first attempt ever made to introduce the *Commedia*, in English verse and with a full critical apparatus, to a vast multitude of "ordinary readers", having only a few shillings to spend, and having for the most part *no* knowledge whatever of Catholic theology, scholastic philosophy, Classical mythology, Italian mediaeval history, Ptolemaic astronomy, the theory of courtly love, or any of the thousand-and-one things that go to make up Dante's "cultural background"—readers to whom the mere skill of reading and interpreting allegory is almost a lost art. The fore-runner which comes nearest to it in respect of cheapness is the Temple Classics edition: but this is actually an Italian text with an English prose crib, and its notes, which are brief and condensed almost to crabbedness, presuppose a reader to whom the background is reasonably familiar. Other, more modern, versions, such as Laurence Binyon's *terza rima* version (which offers practically no critical help at all), or J. D. Sinclair's admirably annotated prose translation, also print the Italian along with the English and in consequence of this, and of their dignified but expensive format, work out at about a guinea a cantica—and three guineas is far more than the average student or casual reader is able or willing to pay.

Such, then, is our task. Somehow we have to capture this elusive and ill-

prepared "common reader," and persuade him or her to embark on a 14,000 line poem by a writer six hundred years dead, of whom all that is generally known is that he has a great reputation for obscurity, believed that the sun went round the earth, and took a vindictive delight in describing the torments of a physical Hell in which no enlightened person now believes.

Two things, obviously, we have to do. We must write readable English. It does not matter how accurate we are, or how copious and helpful our commentary, if the first few pages of the text are so hopelessly cumbersome and dull as to extinguish all desire to go farther. And we must contrive that something—it cannot be all—but *something* of Dante's quality shall come over; something of his spare and sinewy strength, his astonishing speed and drive, his salty and astringent humour, his curious mixture of extreme simplicity and intellectual subtlety, and even something perhaps (Heaven help us) of his lyrical sweetness and his towering ecstasy of song.

Our translation, if it is to do anything for the present generation in England, must be made, not *merely* to please the translator (though it must spring spontaneously from his joy in the work), nor *merely* to content Italian scholars (though it must submit itself to their criticism and hope to win their approval). Like Dante's own writings it must address itself to those who, *per malvagia disusanza del mondo*, are only literate in the modern sense, and not in Dante's sense *litterati*; and of whom he rightly says that there are many noble souls, *non solamente maschi ma femmine, che sono molti e molte in questa lingua, volgari e non litterati*.[2] And we must hope that by now charity has enabled him to set aside his notorious dislike of translators; for even in his lifetime he learned condescension; and he that had once boasted that there would be few to understand his great odes, humbled himself to write of the sublimities in the tongue that cries *babbo* and *mamma*, and to ask the reader's forgiveness if he was sometimes unintentionally obscure.

So now we come to our task; and the first question is: Shall we use prose or verse? If our translation were intended to assist people to read Dante in Italian, my vote would be for prose every time: as verbally exact as is consistent with writing intelligible English. With the help of a sound crib, any intelligent person who is able to decline *mensa* could learn to read Dante's Italian in a month. But since our educators, in their wisdom, have thought it well to make life ten times more difficult for scientist and humanist alike by driving the Latin grammar out of the schools, there are, as we have seen, a very great many people who will never tackle Dante at all except in an English version. And for these, although prose is the soft option, yet in my opinion it sacrifices too much to a superficial simplicity. Too much of the characteristic quality is lost. To give these readers even the faintest idea of what Dante is like, I think we must use verse, and if verse, then Dante's own *terza rima*. Dante uses his verse-form so brilliantly to drive home his meaning, carries his narrative along so swiftly on the flowing rhyme-linked stanza, makes such epigrammatic

[2] *Convivio* I, ix, 5, Buonelli and Vandelli, 1934, p. 58.

play with rhyme-scheme and ternary structure to isolate and emphasise his points as he goes along, that his form and matter are as indissolubly three-in-one as the Trinitarian Persons and Substance in whose honour he is thought to have invented the *terza rima* itself. The articulation of the original anatomy shows awkwardly through any prose version, and prevents it from reading naturally; blank verse, or, *a fortiori*, any stanza that does not naturally divide the sense where the *terza rima* divides it, dislocates the rhythmical structure.

Neither is there, I maintain, any good reason for avoiding *terza rima* in English. The usual argument about the scarcity of rhymes will not do—it would apply even more forcibly to the Spenserian stanza and to *ottava rima*, both of which have always been perfectly at home in English. And the *terza rima* itself has been successfully handled by many English poets, from Shelley and Morris to Browning and Bridges, though usually with a freer over-running of line and stanza than Dante is accustomed to use. And fortunately there is no difficulty about the metre. There are certain metres, such as the classical hexameter and the French alexandrine, whose effect remains stubbornly recalcitrant to any attempt to reproduce it in English verse. But the English heroic line of five stresses corresponds, in its main structure, almost exactly to the Italian hendecasyllable—as is not altogether surprising, since it derives mainly from Italian models.

Terza rima, then, is our choice, and handled as far as possible as Dante handles it.

So far as Dante is concerned, we may dismiss the idea of writing the poem he would have written had he been a contemporary Englishman. This would involve using an idiom and vocabulary about fifty years older than Chaucer: a task which I, for one, am not qualified to perform, even if my readers were inclined to take the trouble of reading it. We may also dismiss the idea of writing the poem that Dante would have written if he had been a twentieth-century Englishman, and, along with it, the attempt to produce on twentieth-century English readers the same effect that Dante produced on fourteenth-century Italians. We do not know precisely what that effect was, but we can guess. For if Dante had been writing here and now, he would not be writing about Jacopo Rusticucci, Forese Donati, Arnaut Daniel and Pope Boniface VIII, but about Queen Victoria, Hitler, James Joyce, Lord Northcliffe, William Temple and Little Tich; and our sensations on finding such personages as these either roasting in Hell, toiling round the cornices of Purgatory or glowing like living flames in the company of St. Peter, St. Thomas Aquinas and Judas Maccabaeus—all according to the unpredictable taste and fancy of the poet—would have a peculiar poignancy about them which no straight translator of the mediaeval text can very well hope to recapture. Exciting Dante is—perhaps the most exciting narrative poet who ever drove a quill—but to write as he would have written today would involve a drastic reconstruction of the whole edifice of the *Comedy* from top to bottom. It would be fun to do—though rather dangerous fun. I have myself sometimes dallied with the notion of an

Inferno Revisited, in which the Lake of Ordure in which the Flatterers are plunged should be found undergoing repairs and extensions on a large scale in order to accommodate the hordes of propagandists, journalists and advertisers who have been tumbling into it at so rapid a rate since Dante first surveyed it. But one could scarcely call that kind of thing translation.

The argument about idiom and rhythm is more delicate. There is the question of period and the question of locality. A consistent archaism is, I believe, not only irritating to the reader, but also false in a material respect to the original; for it is almost bound to impart an atmosphere of quaintness and Wardour Street—an atmosphere about as foreign to Dante as anything well could be. A thorough-going up-to-the-minute modernism, on the other hand, is going to clash most horribly with the content of the poem: you cannot suitably expound Ptolemaic astronomy, or conduct long scholastic arguments, whose mere presentation and structure are period-stamped in every line, in the idiom of Hollywood, or even of a *Times* leader; there will be a continual and disastrous fight between form and substance. In my own practice, I have given myself a pretty free hand, excluding at one end the wholly obsolete and at the other the merely slangy and ephemeral; and indeed it will be found that not only the exigencies of rhyme and metre, but also the variations in Dante's own style, demand that one should not restrict too severely the choice of available words. The rule I have followed—in so far as I have a rule—is to keep the more modern forms for the colloquial passages and the more noble, ancient and poetic forms for passages in the "grand manner," and hope that, in Dante's rapid transitions from the one to the other, the mixture may not slop over too incongruously. It is comforting to realize that in this one is only following Dante's own example. He, too, uses provincial words, nonsense words, nursery words, and phrases which the pundits of the eighteenth century stigmatized as "barbarous," alongside with elaborate Latinisms of vocabulary and syntax which, it must be remembered, were for him (since Latin is simply ancient Italian) the equivalent of what, for us, is archaism and Elizabethan English.

Finally, the question of locality—of *foreignness*: should we try to imitate the Italian rhythm in English, or should we try to reproduce by means native to English verse the emotional effect which the Italian verse makes by its own native means? This is a very fascinating technical problem. Indeed, if one studies it too much one may become too deeply fascinated, and end by writing something that is not so much a readable English poem as a metrical exercise which only technicians can enjoy. Professor Bickersteth has argued eloquently in defence of the "Italianizing" manner adopted by Lawrence Binyon in his translation of the *Commedia*. He says:

> Now it would seem clear that if, by aiming at the highest level of translation, the English translator wishes to make the movement of his verses no less Dantesque than their tone, he should go to all extremes that his ear allows and his metre does not absolutely forbid in admitting frequently into his

rendering of the Italian any of those rhythms which, common there, are less common, or even unusual, in English. And this is precisely what Mr. Binyon has done. His translation of the *Inferno* will from time to time seem to play daring tricks with the metre, his rhythms to pile up their accents, pause, hesitate, and then run on in a fashion strange and at first perhaps puzzling to the English ear; but read each sentence with the precise phrasing the translator intends, place the emphasis where the meaning of the original intends it to fall, and comparison with the Italian will show you that the translator is moving with Dante's movement and yet nowhere disobeying the laws of English prosody.[3]

He chooses for his example a very fine terzain from Binyon's translation of the 5th canto of the *Inferno*:

> I came into a place of all light dumb
> That bellows like a storm in the sea-deep
> When the thwart winds that strike it roar and hum—

and points out how faithfully it follows the accent and rhythm of the original:

> Io venni in luogo d'ogni luce muto,
> che mugghia come fa mar per tempesta,
> se da contrari venti è combattuto.[4]

The critical test of the Italianate method comes, of course, as Professor Bickersteth well recognizes, over those rhythms which are, as he says, "common in Italian, and less common or even unusual, in English"—in particular the line which has a caesura after the 4th or 5th syllable, and ends either with a strong dactylic rhythm, or with an accent on the seventh syllable. Famous examples of these in Milton are, of the first:

> Burned after them/down to the bottomless pit.

and of the second:

> Light from above/from the fountain of light.

Now, the point is that these rhythms are, precisely, so common in Italian that you could pick a handful of them from any canto of the *Comedy* chosen at random; but in English so rare that our poets use them only for special effects. There is no doubt at all that the translator is perfectly justified in using them, if he thinks fit, *for* special effects—that is, after the English manner. Indeed, one great fault of the average nineteenth-century translator of Dante (usually a conscientious scholar but an uninspired poet) is the deadly monotony of his

[3] "On translating Dante," the third Herford Memorial Lecture delivered by Professor G. L. Bickersteth before the Manchester Dante Society, publ. by Sherratt & Hughes, Manchester, 1934, of which see p. 35.

[4] *Inf.* v, 28–30.

impeccably regular rhythm. Take, for example, the passage quoted above as it appears in the version of the Rev. Ichabod Wright. (He is using, not *terza rima*, but a stanza rhymed a b a, c b c—but that does not affect the matter in hand):—

> Throughout the place speaks not the light of heaven;
> And the vast region bellows loud and deep,
> As when o'er ocean warring winds are driven.

The tempest roars like any sucking-dove.

But it is perhaps questionable whether, if we try to make a rhythm which is, admittedly, rare in English, as common in the English version as it is in the Italian, we shall not end by disintegrating the verse completely, and producing an effect of strain and oddity which is quite absent from the original. If the greatest English poets have been cautious of introducing the dactylic close and the accented seventh into their verse, it is perhaps because they were good judges of what their own language would stand.

Italians have made kindly fun of the enthusiastic English Dantist, crying in his barbarous accent:

"Dolchy collar d'óriental záffiro! What melody! what beauty!"

And I must admit that when I find Binyon rendering this exquisite, lingering and (as I freely confess) untranslatable line in the very rhythm of that, let us hope, apochryphal Englishman:

> "Tender colour of orient sapphire",

I have my doubts whether Dante's effect is being even approximately got over —not to say whether such a line can really pass itself off as an English five-foot line; especially as it is necessary for its unstressed final syllable to rhyme with "choir." And when we find, only one terzain away, a passage containing yet another dactylic close, with *two* unstressed rhymes, I am fairly sure that the constitution of English verse does not take kindly to frequent doses of this rather drastic stimulant:

> The planet that promoteth Love was there,
> Making all the East to laugh and be joyful,
> And veiled the Fishes that escorted her.
>
> I turned to the right and contemplated all
> The other pole; and four stars o'er me came,
> Never yet seen save by the first people.[5]

Let me say at once that I am all for the translator's availing himself of the widest possible liberty in the way of rhyme: half-rhyme, eye-rhyme, cockney rhyme, feminine rhyme, unaccented rhyme and so on that he likes to give him-

[5] *Purg.* i, 19–24.

self. The frigid perfection of Augustan rhyme, end-stopping every line with a heavy thump on the last syllable, and necessitating a continual reiteration of trees and breeze, mountain and fountain, love and dove, was threatening to bind up English verse in chains and iron when Tennyson and the Romantics mercifully came to unshackle it and restore it to the liberty of tradition. And I would rather a thousand times have approximate rhymes than approximate meaning—and in translating Dante into *terza rima* one must continually choose between the one and the other. If you are going to rhyme the last syllable of "joyful" or "people" with anything, it may as well be with "all" as with "wool" or "bull." It is not the rhyme I am objecting to, but the cramming of so many metrical oddities into so short a passage, so that the lines limp. (I may say that, in this case, there is no particular justification for eccentricity in the Italian, whose rhythm is here iambic and perfectly straightforward.) Clarity, serenity, and repose are demanded in this passage by the general tone of the verse, which here describes Dante's first sight of the tranquil skies of Purgatory as he emerges from the squalid gloom and stink of Hell; and an evenness and lucidity of metrical structure are surely appropriate here, just as metrical irregularity was appropriate to the whirling blast of the infernal circle of the Lustful.

It is perhaps only fair that, having criticized Binyon and disagreed with Bickersteth, I should now present my own version of the passages under discussion. Of the first I am not particularly proud; it is not better than Binyon's, and may be worse. The point is that it goes about getting the uproar of the wind in a different way—not by Italianizing but by Anglicizing the metre—using, that is, a metrical trick which is quite common in English but impossible in Italian, and which is best summed up in the limerick about—was it the Young Man of Japan?—who said it was his principle "always to get as many words into the last line as I possibly can":

> A place made dumb of every glimmer of light,
> Which bellows like tempestuous ocean birling
> In the batter of a two-way wind's buffet and fight.

The *Purgatorio* passage has more merit:—

> Colour unclouded, orient-sapphirine,
> Softly suffusing from meridian height
> Down the still sky to the horizon-line,
>
> Brought to my eyes renewal of delight
> So soon as I came forth from that dead air
> Which had oppressed my bosom and my sight.
>
> The lovely planet, love's own quickener,
> Now lit to laughter all the eastern sky,
> Veiling the Fishes that attended her.

Right-hand I turned, and, setting me to spy
That alien pole, beheld four stars, the same
The first men saw, and since, no living eye;

Meseemed the heavens exulted in their flame—
O widowed world beneath the northern Plough,
For ever famished of the sight of them!

I have carried on the quotation to the following terzain for the pleasure of pointing out one of those small niceties which are at once the translator's despair and his delight. The Italian has:

Oh settentrional vedovo sito,

which every translator renders quite simply: "O widowed Northern clime." But *settentrional*, the ordinary Italian word for Northern, means by etymology "under the septentrion"—the constellation which we call the Plough, or the Wain; and in the very next stanza, Dante goes on to say that he now turns and looks towards "the other pole"—that is, the northern part of the sky, from which, since they are now at the Antipodes, the familiar Wain has vanished. This imparts a quite special significance to the word "settentrional," which in English one can only bring out by mentioning the constellation, and so dragging to the surface the astronomical meaning which, though obscured by daily use, is still alive beneath the merely cartographical surface-meaning of the Italian word. I do not, of course, suggest that Dante need *consciously* have thought about this hidden derivational meaning—though it may have been vaguely present to his mind, since later in the poem he speaks of the "Septentrion of the First Heaven" and deliberately compares it to the Wain. But it is more probable that here the language itself did for him, unconsciously, what English can do only by a conscious paraphrase. We may compare the effect of the English title of Spengler's book, *The Decline of the West*—a flat statement devoid of overtones—with the rich emotive suggestiveness of the original—again the common German words for "decline" and "West"—*Der Untergang des Abendlandes*: The Going-Down of the Evening-land.

This is a digression, which, however, serves to illustrate one of the most fascinating things about Dante. He has been called a "miser of words," because he never wastes a word, nor uses a word idly. This means that to bring out the full implication of what he says, we often need to use a periphrasis, or an amplification—a fact which has considerable bearing upon the vexed question of "padding," to which I hope to come later on. But I should like first to add something to what we have been saying about Italian verse-rhythm.

There is one modification of the normal verse-stress which Dante uses from time to time for special effects, and which is very startling indeed to the English ear—so startling that neither Binyon, nor Bickersteth, nor so far as I know any

English translator has so far ventured to reproduce it. This is the sudden intrusion of a line or passage running to the lilt of

Diddle-diddle-dumpling, my son John.

It occurs, for instance, in the first line of *Purgatorio* vi—"Quando si parte il gioco della zara," and (again as an isolated line) in the notorious opening of *Inferno* xxii—"Quando con trombe, e quando con campane"; and in *Purgatorio* iv it occurs again, running over two lines and leading to a whole line of anapaests:

Vassi in Sanleo e discendesi in Noli,
montasi su Bismantova in cacume
con esso i piè; ma qui convien ch'om voli.[6]

These are all comic, or semi-comic passages. In *Inferno* xxv we get a whole terzain and more of it—used here to suggest the flickering speed of a running lizard.

Come 'l ramarro sotto la gran fersa
dei dì canicular, cangiando sepe,
folgore par se la via attraversa.[7]

Here, I must admit that I have been tempted to experiment. The metrical pull of the English verse-stress is so powerful that it is almost impossible to get into this rhythm and out again to normal in the course of three lines, without inflicting an intolerable shock on the reader. I have therefore not attempted to use it in the *Inferno* xxii passage; but in *Purgatorio* vi, where it begins the canto, I have made a shot at it, easing it back to normal by way of a neutral kind of line which might scan either way:

The loser at the hazard, when the game breaks up,
Sadder and sorrier lingers on alone,
Re-plays each throw and drinks of wisdom's cup.

In the *Purgatorio* iv passage, I have used it again, resolving it into anapaests as in the original, and here I have eased it in at the beginning with a line of indeterminate scansion in the preceding terzain. I will give the whole context, so as to show the final resolution of the anapaests also into the norm. It will be noticed that the rhythm swings continually between iamb and anapaest for several stanzas—as indeed it does also in the Italian—before it settles down.

Often the labourer fills a gap more wide
With a little forkful of thorns, when the purple dye
Darkens upon the grape toward vintage-tide,

[6] *Purg.*, iv, 25–27.
[7] *Inf.*, xxv, 79–81.

A wider gap than the cleft my guide and I,
He first, I after him, had to climb alone
When that flock left us, bidding us good-bye.

You can mount up to San Leo, or to Noli scramble down,
You can tackle tall Bismantova and clamber to the top
On your two flat feet; but this way has to be flown;

You must fly with the plumes, I mean, and be lifted up
On the wings of desire, still following at the back
Of that great leader who gave to me light and hope.

So in we went and up through the stony crack,
Wedged either side between the rock-walls sheer,
Needing both hands and feet to grip the track.

And when we had scaled the cranny and got out clear
At the high cliff's top on the slope of the open hill:
"Master," said I, "where do we go from here?"

And he: "Let not one foot fall back, but still
Follow on up the mountain. . . ."

The rhythm of:

"Master," said I, "where do we go from here?"

is almost identical with that of:

"Maestro mio," diss' io, "che via faremo?"

except that, in the Italian, this last lingering skip of the anapaest is emphasised by an interior rhyme.

The passage from the *Inferno*, on the other hand, is intended by Dante to supply a violent contrast between the slow, dazed movement of the thief who has been changed into a kind of half-human, half-reptilian monstrosity and the swift darting of the lizard. Accordingly, I have here not softened the shock, but let the metre rip:—

All former forms wholly extinct in it,
The perverse image—both at once and neither—
Reeled slowly out of sight on languid feet.

And just as a lizard, with a quick, slick slither
Flicks across the highway from hedge to hedge,
Fleeter than a flash, in the battering dog-day weather,

A fiery little monster, livid, in a rage,
Black as any peppercorn . . .

The excitement diddle-diddle-dumples over two normal Italian lines, picks up the Italian rhythm again in the last line of this terzain:

livido e nero come gran di pepe

and subsides, suitably, at the moment when the "little monster," having stung its victim, drops from him to the ground.

This revolutionary experiment, then, I have tried, as also the resolution into anapaests which is as common in English as it is in Italian. But I am not certain whether Italianization is wise in every case. Here, for example, is an instance in which I have not yet made up my mind—a famous pitfall in which innumerable translators have come to grief—the account in *Paradiso* xi of the calling of the first Franciscans. Here is the plain English prose of it:

> So that the venerable Bernard first cast off his
> shoes (si scalzò) and ran to follow so great peace,
> and, running, thought he was all too slow.
>
> O wealth untold, O fertile good! Egidius casts
> off his shoes, so too Sylvester, following the
> bridegroom, so doth the bride delight them.[8]

Longfellow, in his blank terzains (to take an example at random) translates:

> So much so that the venerable Bernard
> First bared his feet, and after so great peace
> Ran, and, in running, thought himself too slow.
>
> O wealth unknown! O veritable[9] good!
> Giles bares his feet, and bares his feet Sylvester
> Behind the bridegroom, so doth please the bride!

The difficulty here is the verb *scalzare*, to throw off one's shoes, for which the only one-word English equivalent would be "to discalce one's self"—a rare and awkward word, recalcitrant to verse. As Miss Alice Curtayne remarks, in the course of a ferocious attack on all verse-translations of Dante, "this 'baring of the feet' . . . is altogether too leisurely a process. It suggests the action of a man preparing for a bath, and not at all the tumultuous haste of the men who ran along the streets of Assisi after Francis."[10] The really crucial line is the fifth. Here Cary has:

> Egidius bares him next, and next Sylvester.

Binyon:

> Barefoot goes Giles, barefoot Sylvester, toward
> The bridegroom, following him: so charms the bride.

[8] *Par.*, xi, 79–84.
[9] Reading *verace*, where others read *ferace*.
[10] *A Recall to Dante*, 1932, p. 144.

Bickersteth has:

> Giles bares his feet, his feet Sylvester bares.

Nor must we forget the calamity of the unfortunate Anderson, usually a very sound and sometimes an excellent translator, who disastrously allowed himself to write:

> Giles bares his feet, Sylvester his behind
> The bridegroom, . . .

"Let it stand," says Miss Curtayne, venomously, "as a warning against English *terza rima* renderings of Dante." I do not know why she says that. It is the kind of accident that might happen to anybody, even in prose.

But now listen to the Italian:—

> Tanto che 'l venerabile Bernardo
> Si scalzò prima, e dietro a tanta pace
> Corse, e correndo gli parv' esser tardo.
>
> O ignota richezza, oh ben ferace!
> Scalzasi Egidio, scalzasi Silvestro,
> Dietro allo sposo; sì la sposa piace.

"Scalzasi Egidio, scalzasi Silvestro"—it is our old friend the diddle-diddle-dumpling, heavily reinforced with sibilants; a sound as of people madly shuffling off their shoes in the changing-room before rushing out on to the running-track.

Now, there is nothing whatever in the English language to prevent one from reproducing this effect exactly, both as to metre and alliteration, if one likes, and is not deterred by convention and a misplaced hankering for the "grand manner." One can, for example, say this:—

> The venerable Bernard first threw off
> His shoes and ran, and thought himself too slow
> Running to so great peace with so great love.
>
> O wealth untold! O fertile gold! for lo,
> Sylvester, Egidius, cast aside their shoes now,
> Following the groom, the bride delights them so!
>
> Father and master, he his way pursues now,
> With him his lady and his family
> Girt with the humble cord that each endues now.

(I have run on into the next terzain, lest anybody should object that there are no conceivable rhymes to "shoes now".)

But it would be equally possible, instead of directly imitating the Italianate scansion, to get a similar effect of speed and excitement by means more native to the English five-foot line—thus:—

> O wealth untold! O fertile gold! For lo,
> Sylvester, Giles, they fling off their shoes, they fly
> To follow the groom, the bride delights them so.
>
> This father and this master, see him hie
> On with his lady and his household too,
> Corded already with humility.

I have dwelt rather long on this question of metre and rhythm, because it is important, and because it leads me up to the point where I can catalogue a few of the qualities which, to me, seem indispensable in any rendering of Dante. Binyon says: "A melodious smoothness is not the characteristic of Dante's verse so much as an extraordinary fullness and volume."[11] That is doubtless true; but what strikes *me* most forcibly about it is neither of these things but its speed and versatility. The first thing that his translator must at all costs avoid is slowness, stiffness or dullness; and the second is monotony. The sheer pace of Dante's narrative is astonishing; and he can run in a few consecutive lines the full gamut of the grandiose, the lyrical, the staggeringly simple, the colloquial, the high-comedy and the coarse. It is far better to err on the side of exaggerating the variety of his style than to allow a misplaced reverence for a sublime poet or a religious subject to strap him up in a strait-jacket of unmitigated decorum. The great majority of his translators, especially in the last century, suffered from hypertrophy of the bump of veneration. Cary, for example, confronted at the end of *Inferno* xxi with the vulgar behaviour of Malacoda, who, after taking the salute of the poets' demon escorts,

> . . . avea del cul fatto trombetta—
>
> He promptly made a bugle of his breech—

turns pale, renders it

> a signal . . . ,
> Which he with sound obscene triumphant gave,

hastily scrapes a Greek footnote over the indelicacy, and proceeds in his stately Miltonics:—

> It hath been heretofore my chance to see
> Horsemen with martial order shifting camp,
> To onset sallying, or in muster ranged,
> Or in retreat sometimes outstretch'd for flight:
> Light-armèd squadrons and fleet foragers
> Scouring thy plains, Arezzo! have I seen,

[11] *Dante's Inferno*, 1933, p. viii.

And clashing tournaments, and tilting jousts,
Now with the sound of trumpets, now of bells,
Tabors, or signals made from castled heights,
And with inventions multiform, our own,
Or introduced from foreign land; but ne'er
To such a strange recorder I beheld
In evolution moving, horse nor foot,
Nor ship, that tack'd by sign from land or star.
With the ten demons on our way we went;
Ah, fearful company! but in the church
With saints, with gluttons at the tavern's mess.[12]

One would scarcely think that the passage was intended to be funny. Yet the vocabulary—"ne già con sì diversa cennamella"—and the diddle-dumpling jolt and jangle of the metre:

Quando con trombe, e quando con campane,
con tamburi e con cenni di castella—

should have warned him that Dante was up to mischief. But no doubt he would have said, like the Emperor Trajan: "Pietà mi ritiene." Piety held him back, and his firm hand compelled his master to decorum.

Nevertheless, all honour is for ever due to Cary, the first English translator of Dante to handle the text with loving accuracy. The modern trend in translation is all towards accuracy; we do not now expect translators to correct the sentiments as they go along, add embellishments which were not in the original, spin out one line into six with meditations of their own, or skim over difficulties with a handful of vague poetic clichés. That was the early method—one "imitated" rather than translated; and it is odd to find Fowler Wright, as late as 1928, starting off his *Inferno* with a stanza which actually suppresses all mention of the Dark Wood:—

One night, when half my life behind me lay,
I wandered from the straight lost path afar.
Through the great dark was no releasing way:

Above that dark was no relieving star.

A reasonable fidelity to the text is, then, the third requirement for the translator. I do not mean a lumbering literalism. He need not produce contortions like William Rossetti's:

Then took I hold upon him by the scalp,
And said: "'Twill have to be thou name thyself
Or that no hair remain to thee hereon."

[12] *Inf.*, xxii, 1–15.

or Longfellow's:

> Already with sight of this one I am not unfed.

Or Binyon's:

> For here can those there much our weal advance
>
> (Che qui per quei di là molto s'avanza)

But he *must* get the theology right, and he *must* get the astronomy right, and he *must* get the shades of meaning as right as possible. It is a useful and often a humbling discipline to be obliged to write analytical notes to accompany one's version. Nothing is more mortifying than to elucidate a difficult passage elaborately in a footnote and then discover that the important point has not survived in one's translation to receive one's comment. A nodding acquaintance with scholastic theology is needful, lest, in choosing some word that scans and rhymes conveniently, one should inadvertently land Dante and one's self in heresy or nonsense. And I need not dwell upon the discomfort of the conscientious translator when he sees this kind of thing looming up in the distance:

> "Indeed, Master," said I, "I never saw so clearly what I now discern, there where my wit seemed to be at fault, that the median circle of the celestial motion, which in one of the sciences is called the Equator, and which always remains between the sun and winter, departs here (for the reason you give) as far towards the North as the Hebrews used to see it towards the hot climes."

I regret to say that, whatever care one uses in the translation, modern readers always burst out laughing at this point, and say that, however clear it may have been to Dante, you have not succeeded in making it clear to *them*.

The next requirement is, as I firmly maintain, a quick sense of comedy. I cannot understand why so many people say that Dante had no humour. He abounds in comedy—mostly of a sly, dry, delicate sort, and for appreciation of a comic social situation is only rivalled by Jane Austen. His own portrait in the *Comedy* is full of self-mockery, and his conversations, especially with Virgil, are shot through with amusement at his own absurdity. This high-comedy style is so inherent in the whole situation and so dependent on little, unemphatic touches here and there that it hardly lends itself to illustration in brief snippets, and is apt to vanish like the scales of a moth's wings under the heavy touch of commentary. I can only repeat that it is abundantly there, and that the translator will miss it at his peril.

The fifth requirement in the translator is a resolute determination not to be afraid of the rhyme, but to make it do the work for him, as it does it for Dante, who is the one and only original Humpty-Dumpty in the slave-driving energy with which he whips the last ounce of usefulness out of a word. Weak, lazy,

fill-up rhymes on unimportant words will produce a texture as unlike Dante as anything could well be. Professor Bickersteth, in his Introduction has dealt with this point so well that I will venture to quote him at some length:—

> . . . in the Italian hendecasyllable the metre itself involves that the end of the line should be specially emphatic. For the 10th syllable is the only one which must invariably bear the stress. The 4th or 6th comes next in importance. Dante makes the rhyme reinforce the final stress, with the result that in nine cases out of ten the rhyme-word—and, of the three in the *terzina*, often one in particular—is the outstanding or key-word of the argument. So true is this that in whole passages together you may follow the drift of the thought by a mere glance at the rhymes. It would be foolish to suggest that the translator must always so manipulate his thought as to emphasise by rhyme the very same idea that Dante does. For translation is art, not mechanism; . . .[13]

I will here interrupt the quotation to observe that a mechanical accuracy of this sort is in any case impossible, because it frequently happens that two ideas which readily rhyme in Italian will not rhyme in English. But in every pair of rhymes one may, nearly always, by thinking with one's ears, distinguish a hammer-rhyme and an anvil-rhyme—one which beats out the principal idea, and the other which provides a surface for it to beat upon. In any terzain, you may find one hammer-rhyme and two anvil-rhymes, or two hammer-rhymes and one anvil-rhyme; but if the verse is to be effective, one hammer-rhyme at least there must be. When, in translating, the line-endings fall awkwardly for the rhyme, the trick is to look for the hammer-rhyme—or, if there are two, the more important of them—get *that* of a good weight and ring, and then provide it with as good a pair of anvils as you can. You will do better that way than by removing all the important words to the middle of the line and rhyming on three nonentities. But, let us return to Professor Bickersteth, who proceeds to drive one's heart into one's boots by observing that "the translator, like any other good craftsman, must conceal his art and make his rhymes seem to occur as easily and inevitably as they do in the original." Indeed, indeed, that is the counsel of perfection; but I will add here the comment that, oddly enough, the translators into blank verse tend to indulge in even more awkward contortions and inversions than the translators into rhymed verse. This is mysterious; and I do not pretend to understand it. After emphasizing that the translator must reserve to himself a certain freedom with his material, Professor Bickersteth goes on:

> Yet there are countless passages, where unless he can contrive to place at the end of the line the same word as Dante does, he will not in the strict sense be translating him.

[13] *The Paradiso of Dante Alighieri*, 1932, pp. xxiv-xxv.

And he gives this illustration:

> In St. Peter's famous denunciation of Boniface VIII (*Para.* xxvii. 22) the saint refers to the pope as follows:
>
> Quelli ch'usurpa in terra il luogo mio,
> il luogo mio, il luogo mio, che vaca
> nella presenza del Figliuol di Dio. . . .
>
> The "luogo mio," thrice repeated for the sake of emphasis, must obviously be retained by the translator, who (since, rendered literally, the words fall naturally into English verse) might be inclined to translate it
>
> He that usurps on earth my place, my place,
> My place, etc.
>
> But this is precisely what he must not do. For the rhythm, the grammatica inversion, but chiefly the rhyme, all show that the emphasis falls on the possessive, not the noun. What St. Peter says is "the place that is *mine*." He is not concerned with the papal see as such, but to underline the contrast between himself and Boniface as occupants of it. Nor is "my place" a mistranslation of the meaning only. It also fails to render the feeling of indignation which is expressed not merely by the repetition of the words, but by the *sound* of the rhyme-word. The deep, open "o" of the "luogo" passing into the long-drawn-out, close, high-pitched "i" of "mio" (and dropping back to short "o" again) conveys the very inflection of the Apostle's voice, rising on the rhyme-word to a shr*ie*k (gr*i*do) of fury, which trembles indeed on the verge of the comic. Boniface represents not God but Satan, "il perverso" (another rhyme-word) "che cadde di qua su," whereas St. Peter was truly the vicar of God, as the triple rhyme "io—mio—Dio" subconsciously impresses through the ear on the mind by association of ideas. If the translator cannot, throughout the poem, be constantly using the rhyme for this sort of effect, he had better not attempt *terza rima* at all.[14]

Now, constructive criticism of this kind is taking the art of translation on a very high level indeed; and nothing would better show how far we have come from the pedestrian, hit-or-miss methods of some of the earlier Dante-translators, who care nothing for such niceties, provided their lines more or less convey the gist of the passage and scan by rule of thumb. "Progress" is not a term we can very often use, with any real meaning, in the sphere of the humanities; but where, as in translation, it is a question, not only of good writing but of intelligent scholarship, I believe that time and experience can bring definite improvements, and that our own century can claim to have learned by the example, and failures, of the past.

I hope nobody will accuse me of cattiness or crabbing if I say that when I turn to see what Professor Bickersteth has himself made of this passage I am

[14] *Ibid.*, xxv-xxvi.

a little disappointed. Here it is, first in the Italian, then in the English—and I give the terzain before and after, so that it may be seen how the rhymes run. (Dante sees the "living flame" which is the soul of St. Peter, glow angrily, changing from white to red; then St. Peter speaks, and the other spirits of the Redeemed glow red in sympathy):

Quand'io udi': "Se io mi transcoloro,
non ti maravigliar; chè, dicend'io,
vedrai trascolorar tutti costoro.

Quelli ch'usurpa in terra il luogo mio,
il luogo mio, il luogo mio, che vaca
nella presenza del Figliuol di Dio,

fatt' ha del cimiterio mio cloaca
del sangue e della puzza; onde 'l perverso
che cadde di qua su, là giù si placa."

. . . When thus I heard: "Marvel not, if my hue
Be changed; for while I'm speaking, thou wilt see
All my companions changing colour too.

He who usurps the place bestowed on me,
On me, on me, that place on earth, which now
The Son of God regards as vacant—he

hath made my cemetery, like sewer, flow
With blood and filth; whereby the renegade
Who fell from hence, comforts himself below."

It is, I think, evident that though the translator has got his emphasis on "me," he has paid a rather heavy price for it. The rhyme-sequence "io—mio—Dio" has gone—and that, we may say at once, cannot be helped, since no power on earth will make the word "I" rhyme with "God." Instead, we have a strongish sequence—"see—me—he," which, instead of emphasizing the *parallel* between God and St. Peter, emphasizes the *contrast* between him and Satan ("il perverso"). That is quite a good substitute. But the other rhyme-sequence, with its snarling emphasis on "vaca—cloaca—placa" has also gone, to give place to a mild-mannered and rather weak sequence, "now—flow—below," which has practically no hammer-rhyme at all. Still more serious: the two extremely important words: "vaca" and "cloaca" have been pushed into the weakest place in the line—the fourth stress; and moreover, instead of the vigorous phrase, "has made my cemetery a sewer," we have a subordinate simile "like sewer," which is made still weaker by the omission of the indefinite

article. Similarly, instead of "which now stands vacant in the presence of God's Son," we have "which now the Son of God *regards* as vacant." Theologically, no doubt, it comes to the same thing; since if God regards a thing as being so, clearly it is so. But poetically the force is much weakened, and the word "regards" leaves us with a subconscious feeling that there might be two opinions on the subject. Further, the enjambing of the two terzains—though this is not by any means unknown in Dante's verse—has here the unfortunate effect of giving pride of emphatic place, not to the Son of God but to Pope Boniface VIII. And finally we may say that, although the possessive of "il luogo mio" is duly stressed, the thrice-reiterated "on me, on me, on me" is less effective than the repetition of the longer phrase "il luogo mio."

Let us now, just for amusement and instruction, see if we can do yet better than this.

The first thing to occur to us is that the only rendering of "il luogo mio" to have the length and weight of the original is "that place of mine"; and the obvious temptation is to start off simply and forcibly:

He who on earth usurps that place of mine.

A moment's forethought, however, warns us that when we get to the "Figliuol di Dio," the rhyme is going to land us with "the Son Divine"—one of those phrases that absolutely stink of translation. Regretfully, therefore, we refuse the soft option and think again. Then it occurs to us that, provided "of mine" comes on the rhyme, it does not really matter in which line it comes. Thus encouraged, we start off again, doing this time exactly what we have been told not to, and rhyming the first line on "place."

He who upon the earth usurps that place
Of mine, that place of mine, that place of mine—

This emphasizes the "mine" by the slight pause at the enjambment, and gives it the first, third and fifth stresses in the second line, and the rhyme-sound. But we have now left ourselves only one line in which to dispose of the presence of the Son of God and also the important word "vaca." Lack of rhymes forbids us even to think about putting "vacant" or "empty" at the end of a line, so the best we can do, in any case, is to transfer the word to the middle of the line and give it a heavy stress. And now the peculiar genius of the English language comes to our rescue. We have no room for the rolling polysyllables of "Nella presenza del Figliuol di Dio"—but in English, if you really want to be impressive, it is not polysyllables you use, but a bunch of heavy monosyllabic thumps, and if you can isolate them by a preceding weak stress, all the better. This gives us:

Which now stands vacant before God's Son's face.

We are now left to find two rhymes in "-ine," one for the sewer, and one for Satan's consolation at the end of the terzain. By a singular piece of good

fortune, there is an excellent old West-country word, "rhine," meaning an open ditch. This has the disadvantage of not being familiar to everybody; but a suitable adjective will make the meaning clear in the context: "an open rhine" —no, much better give it a nasty, rasping alliteration: "a running rhine." And while we are about it, we will get rid of the cemetery (a word always faintly suggestive of the London Necropolis) in favour of a "burial-ground," which gives us two more "r's" instead of one; and we will invert the order of "blood and filth," so as to bring the thudding sound of "blood" to the caesura. The third -ine rhyme was a teaser, and I will admit that I was at my wit's end, until, in desperation, I opened (of all things) a Rhyming Dictionary; and to my amazement, it flew out and hit me in the eye—a word I might not have thought of in a twelve-month, but exactly right. But in the meanwhile, there is a rhyme in -ace still missing from the terzain before. And here is where we pay for our fun, because, so far, I have been able to think of nothing better than "apace," which sounds rather feeble and unmeaning in the context. Still, everything has its price, and if we must have a weakness, it had better be in the least important stanza of the three. The opening of our original first line is also a little weak: "He that *upon the* earth" is padding, and flabby padding at that. Better, perhaps, to pad boldly and say:

He that on earth *has dared* usurp . . .

We now fill in the rest of the preceding terzain, taking the opportunity to render "transcolorar" *each* time by "change colour," instead of having one "change colour" and one "change hue," a variation which is less Dantesque. Now we can put the bits and pieces together and see what we have got:

I heard: "If I change colour, as I do,
Marvel not thou; for I will speak apace,
And thou shalt see all these change colour too.

He that on earth has dared usurp that place
Of mine, that place of mine, that place of mine
Which now stands vacant before God's Son's face,

Has made my burial-ground a running rhine
Of filth and blood; which to the Renegade
Down there, who fell from here, is anodyne.

I was going to say something about padding; but I find I have already said it. Padding there has to be sometimes, simply because Italian words are usually longer than their English equivalents. "Mi fece la divina potestate" —"God's power made me"; "per cui tremavano ambedue le sponde"—"which made both banks shake"; "e la sua voluntade è nostra pace"—"His will is our

peace." What one does in crises of this kind must depend on the context; but it is safe to say that a good, strong, vigorous piece of unabashed padding, which contributes to the sense, is always better than a lot of little words which mean nothing in particular. This excess of elbow-room which one finds one has in translating from Italian into English has induced one translator at least (Auchtermuchty) to use octosyllabic instead of decasyllabic *terza rima*, with rather unexpectedly good effect. But the jig of the short line is tiring to the ear, and imparts a disastrous jauntiness to the elegiac passages:

Who go in mind, in body stay

cannot render the lingering nostalgia of

che va col cuore e col corpo dimora;

we *must* have

Whose bodies linger, though the heart hies on—

or something along those lines. Besides, we are frequently faced with a difficulty of the opposite kind. It is extremely tiresome that the word "già," which occurs so often, requires the three cumbersome syllables "already"; and that the Italian reflexives can only be rendered either by the lumbering "myself, himself" and so on, which clog up the line and refuse to rhyme with anything, or by such convenient but archaic forms as "I moved me," "I turned me"; while the impersonal "per me si va," and the like, demand an awkward periphrasis. One must have a line which allows a little margin for these things.

There are a thousand other things one could and should discuss: Dante's use of alliteration, internal rhyme, jingles and word-play, not to say downright puns, and his exploitation of words derived from the same root, as in the famous:

che'l suo *fattore*
non disdegnò di *farsi* sua *fattura*.

What to do with Dante's odds and ends of Latin quotations, which are so characteristic that one does not like to translate them, but which often involve one in the most appalling Ingoldsby-Legend acrobatics to provide them with a rhyme. How to provide a suitable equivalent for the three terzains of Provençal which burst so unexpectedly and gaily into the sonority of the Italian on the last triumphant ledge of Purgatory. What line one is to take about the ingenious acrostic[15] in *Purgatory* xi; whether one is justified in substituting a plain "said he" for the continued repetition of "And he to me," and so on; how to wrestle with names like Jacopo Rusticucci, Guglielmo Aldobrandesco, the Monaldi and Filippeschi, and so forth, which appear, recalcitrant to English scansion, sometimes as many as four or five crammed into a single terzain. And, above all—the outstanding difficulty of difficulties—the passages where

[15] If it is indeed an acrostic and not an accident.

Dante's Italian is so simple, lucid, and colloquial, falling so limpidly and easily into rhyme with all the words in the natural order, that the smallest artificiality is an outrage.

But I have been asked to submit to you my practice as well as my theory; and it is, as I freely admit, by his practice that the translator stands or falls. I will therefore ask your indulgence for a few more minutes while I read to you, first my less reverent version of that opening of *Inferno* xxii, which in the Rev. Mr. Cary's version was made to "bear itself more seeming." Technically, I have tried to get the high-spirited effect by a jog-trot metre, an irresponsible vocabulary, comic rhyme, and an abundance of feminine endings:—

I have seen horsemen moving camp, and beating
The muster and assault, seen troops advancing,
And sometimes with uncommon haste retreating,

Seen forays in your land, and coursers prancing,
O Aretines! and I've beheld some grandish
Tilts run and tourneys fought, with banners dancing,

And fife and drum, and signal-flares a-brandish
From towers, and cars with tintinnabulation
Of bells, and things both native and outlandish;

But to so strange a trumpet's proclamation
I ne'er saw move or infantry or cavalry,
Or ship by sea-mark or by constellation.

Well, off we started with that bunch of devilry;
Queer company—but there! "with saints at church,
And at the inn with roisterers and revelry."

Secondly, I think I will choose the great denunciation of Italy and the Emperor from the 6th canto of *Purgatory*. This is the ironic and epigrammatic Dante; and everything has to yield to getting an almost savage directness, with the rhyme driven smack home on the nail every time. Notice the rhetorical use of the terzain-structure, particularly in the four successive stanzas which begin with "Come." (We begin where Dante and Virgil meet Sordello on the lower slopes of the mountain.)

We came to him. O lofty Lombard soul,
How stately didst thou bear thyself, avouching
Scorn in thine eyes' slow glance majestical!

He said no word to us, but, gravely watching,
Let us come on, and sat and eyed us there,
After the fashion of a lion couching.

Yet Virgil still drew nigh him, with a prayer
That he would show the ascent; the shadowy man
Ignored all this, demanding who we were,

And whence. Straightway my courteous guide began:
"Mantua. . . ." And, starting from his sullen smother,
All self-absorbed, the shade leapt up and ran

From where he was to meet him, crying: "Brother!
O brother-Mantuan! Sordello am I
Of thine own city!" And they embraced each other.

O house of grief! O bond-slave Italy!
Ship without pilot in a raging gale!
No mistress-province, but a stews and sty!

That noble soul was swift; he did not fail,
For the sweet name, his city's name—no more—
To bid his fellow-countryman all-hail.

But in thy borders is no rest from war
For living men; those whom one moat doth bound,
One wall, destroy each other and devour.

Search, wretched! search thy seas and coasts around;
Then search thy bosom; see if thou canst hit
On any nook where pleasant peace is found.

What though Justinian fettled up thy bit
If still the saddle's empty? That can do
Nought but make worse the bitter shame of it.

You reverend gentlemen, who should pursue
Your calling, and let Caesar mount and ride,
Could you but read what God set down for you,

See how this brute turns vicious in her pride,
Missing the spurred heel, since you snatched at her,
Fumbling the rein with hands not fit to guide,

Thou, German Albert, who hast left this mare
To run wild and ungoverned, thou indeed
Shouldst now bestride her back—what dost thou care?

Let judgment fall, judgment on all thy breed
From the just stars! be it strange and manifest,
So that thine heir shall tremble and give heed;

Because thy father and thou, by greed possessed,
Lingering up there, have suffered this abuse
To lay the garden of the Empire waste.

Come, see the Capulets and the Montagues;
See, heedless man, Monaldi's house made poor,
The Filippeschi shaking in their shoes.

Come, see thy nobles, persecuted sore,
And bind their bleeding wounds; come, heart of stone,
And see how safe life is in Santafior.

Come, see thy city, weeping there alone,
That cries by night and day, poor widowed Rome,
"Caesar and husband, whither art thou gone?"

Come, see how all thy people here at home
Love one another. If no ruth can move,
Then for fame's sake, for very shame's sake, come!

Nay (be the thought permitted) most high Jove,
Once for our sins slain here upon the rood,
Are Thy just eyes turned elsewhere and aloof?

Or dost Thou thus prepare, as seemeth good
To Thine abysmal wisdom, some great plan,
Dark to our eyes, not to be understood?

For every town in Italy is a den
Swarming with tyrants; any churl's Marcellus,
Who comes along to play the partisan.

Florence, my Florence, laugh! enjoy this jealous
Little digression, for it galls thee not,
Thanks to thy citizens, so wise, so zealous!

Some people's justice is heart-deep, slow-shot,
Stopping to think ere loosing from the bow;
Thy folk have justice at tongue's tip, I wot.

Some shun the cares of office: thy folk? No!
"I'll sacrifice myself!" they gaily shout
Long before anybody asks them to.

Be glad, with so much to be glad about,
Thou rich, thou peaceable, thou well-advised!
Do I speak truth? the facts will bear me out.

Athens and Lacedaemon, that devised
Old laws and arts urbane in years bygone,
Had scarcely started to be civilized

Compared with thee, whose planning's so well-done,
Thou hast ere now run through by mid-November
The store of thread that thy October spun.

How often, in the days thou canst remember,
Have customs, coinage, codes been redesigned,
Each office changed, and changed thy every member!

Bethink thee then, and if thou art not blind
Thou'lt see thyself a woman sick with pain,
Who on the softest down no rest can find,
Tossing and turning weary limbs in vain.[16]

Lastly, for a complete contrast, there is the famous "Last Voyage of Ulysses" —the most astonishing synthesis of the classical and romantic in all literature. The difficulty here is to achieve anything like the sheer, unornamented, limpid simplicity of the original. Notice how the *terza rima* is locked into 6-line or 9-line stanzas for such special effects as Virgil's conjuration of the spirits and the "little speech" of Ulysses; and elsewhere carried forward in continuous narrative by the over-running of the lines and by the conjunctions which link the stanzas. (The flame which conceals the spirits of Diomed and Ulysses is advancing towards the poets along the bottom of the Bolgia):—

So, when by time and place the twin-fire peak,
As to my guide seemed fitting, had come on,
With this form conjuring it, I heard him speak:

[16] *Purg.*, vi, 61–151.

"You that within one flame go two as one,
By whatsoever I merited once of you,
By whatsoever I merited under the sun

When I sang my high songs, whether little or great my due,
Stand; and let one of you say what distant bourne,
When he voyaged to loss and death, he voyaged unto."

Then of that age-old fire the loftier horn
Began to mutter and move, as a wavering flame
Wrestles against the wind and is over-worn;

And, like a speaking tongue vibrant to frame
Language, the tip of it flickering to and fro
Threw out a voice and answered: "When I came

From Circe at last, who would not let me go,
But twelve months near Caieta hindered me
Before Aeneas ever named it so,

No tenderness for my son, nor piety
To my old father, nor the wedded love
That should have comforted Penelope

Could conquer in me the restless itch to rove
And rummage through the world exploring it,
All human worth and wickedness to prove.

So on the deep and open sea I set
Forth, with a single ship and that small band
Of comrades that had never left me yet.

Far as Morocco, far as Spain I scanned
Both shores; I saw the island of the Sardi,
And all that sea, and every wave-girt land.

I and my fellows were grown old and tardy
Or ere we made the straits where Hercules
Set up his marks, that none should prove so hardy

To venture the uncharted distances;
Ceuta I'd left to larboard, sailing by,
Seville I now left in the starboard seas.

'Brothers,' said I, 'that have come valiantly
Through hundred thousand jeopardies undergone
To reach the West, you will not now deny

To this last little vigil left to run
Of feeling life, the new experience
Of the uninhabited world behind the sun.

Think of your breed; for brutish ignorance
Your mettle was not made; you were made men,
To follow after knowledge and excellence.'

My little speech made every one so keen
To forge ahead, that even if I'd tried
I hardly think I could have held them in.

So, with our poop shouldering the dawn, we plied,
Making our oars wings to the witless flight,
And steadily gaining on the larboard side.

Already the other pole was up by night
With all its stars, and ours had sunk so low,
It rose no more from the ocean-floor to sight;

Five times we had seen the light kindle and grow
Beneath the moon, and five times wane away,
Since to the deep we had set course to go,

When at long last hove up a mountain, grey
With distance, and so lofty and so steep,
I never had seen the like on any day.

Then we rejoiced; but soon we had to weep,
For out of the unknown land there blew foul weather,
And a whirlwind struck the forepart of the ship;

And three times round she went in a roaring smother
With all the waters; at the fourth, the poop
Rose, and the prow went down, as pleased Another,

And over our heads the hollow seas closed up."[17]

DOROTHY L. SAYERS

[17] *Inf.*, xxvi, 76–142. This long passage from the *Inferno*, the *Purgatorio* quotation which ends on p. 64 and a number of shorter fragments from the first two canticas of the *Divina Commedia* have been published as part of the late Dr. Sayers' translations in the Penguin Classics series. I am most grateful to the General Editor, Dr. E. V. Rieu, for giving me permission to reprint them. [Editor].

NICAISE LADAM AND MANUSCRIPT 283/2 OF THE FITZWILLIAM MUSEUM

I. AN EPITAPH ON PHILIPPE DE CRÈVECOEUR

In 1954 I published in the *Bulletin de la Commission Royale d'Histoire* of Belgium an article which I called *Philippe de Crèvecoeur, seigneur d'Esquerdes: two epitaphs by Jean Molinet and Nicaise Ladam.*[1] My primary object in writing that article was to discuss a Latin poem by Jean Molinet which until then had not been understood, *L'épitaphe de monseigneur des Cordes*, which begins

> Orbis honor non improbitatis cordiger auctor,
> Dignus homo non damnificandus nunc recubans est;[2]

but what I wrote about this Latin epitaph by Molinet led me to a further discovery. During the summer of 1952 I had transcribed from MS. 283/2 in the Fitzwilliam Museum a series of four French epitaphs of the fifteenth century. In the nineteenth century the two manuscript volumes 283/1 and 283/2 had formed MS. Barrois 480/1 in the Ashburnham collection; they were sold at Sotheby's in 1901; and C. Fairfax Murray who bought them gave them in 1917 to the Fitzwilliam Museum. The four epitaphs in question, which are copied on ff. 114r° to 120v° of MS. 283/2, commemorate Philippe le Bon, Charles le Téméraire, the Emperor Maximilian and Philippe de Crèvecoeur. In the catalogue prepared by Messrs. Sothebys for the 1901 sale these four epitaphs were described as follows:

> ÉPITAPHES (PAR JEAN MOLINET), ff. 7.

The first two are undoubtedly the work of Molinet. They bear the following titles:

> Epitaphe de feu digne de bonne memoire, tresnoble, et tresredoubté seigneur, Monseigneur le duc Philippes de Bourgone.
>
> En aprés s'ensyt l'epitaphe de feu tresnoble, cremu et redoubté seigneur, Monseigneur le duc Charles de Bourgongne, filz unicque dudict defunct duc Phlippes.[3]

[1] See vol. cxix (1954), pp. 183–206.

[2] MS. Tournai, Bibliothèque Communale, 105. On 7 April 1952 the Librarian of the Bibliothèque Communale de Tournai wrote to me as follows concerning this manuscript which had contained the only known copy of Molinet's epitaph: "La bibliothèque de la Ville de Tournai a été quasi-totalement détruite par les bombardements subis en mai 1940. Seulement 27 manuscrits ont pu être sauvés. Et, malheureusement, celui qui vous intéresse a disparu dans le désastre." The epitaph had been printed twice: it appears on f° 117r° of the *editio princeps* of the *Faictz et Dictz* published by Jehan Longis on 9 December 1531; and Edmond Liot de Nortbécourt gave an inaccurately copied version on pp. 931 *et seq.* of the *Bulletin de la Société des Antiquaires de la Morinie*, vol. ii (1861).

[3] For a new printing of these two poems see my article *Two epitaphs by Jean Molinet*, in *Scriptorium*, vol. viii, 2 (1954), pp. 283–8.

But it is the third epitaph, commemorating Philippe de Crèvecoeur, seigneur d'Esquerdes and maréchal de France, which is the most interesting. As I wrote in the article already referred to, this epitaph to Crèvecoeur consists of 224 alexandrines divided into quatrains, with a prologue of 8 octosyllabics at the beginning and an epilogue of 8 octosyllabics at the end. The ideas expressed in the poem are exactly the same as those found in Molinet's Latin epitaph, and everything encourages us to accept him as its author. Since its composition in 1494 it has been published only once. In a paper read before the *Société des Antiquaires de la Morinie* and published in that society's *Bulletin*, vol. ii, pp. 632–59 (1861), under the title of *Épitaphe du maréchal d'Esquerdes, par Jehan Molinet*, Edmond Liot de Nortbécourt published it for the first time. Despite the similarity of the ideas expressed in the Latin epitaph—which is without doubt the work of Jean Molinet—and in this epitaph written in French, and despite the assurances of Liot de Nortbécourt and of whosoever prepared the Sotheby catalogue of 1901, this poem is however the work of another writer. As printed by Liot de Nortbécourt in 1861 the prologue appears as follows[4]:

Chy en après, suit le hault épitaphe
Du bon Philippe de Crèvecoeur,
Faite en Franche pour l'ortographe,
Laquelle a escript de bon coeur,
Et selon que dist le seigneur,
Bourgongne respond sans grands plaicts,
Comme vous orrez la teneur,
Se faire silence il vous plaist.

Liot de Nortbécourt gives us no details of the manuscript which he is copying.[5] For all that, it is clear that his text is modernised, that *pour l'ortographe* should have been *par l'ortographe*, and that he should have put a full-stop and not a comma after the two words *le seigneur*. Who was this seigneur? The same prologue reads as follows[6] in MS. 283/2:

Chy en aprés sieut le hault epitaphe
Du bon Phlippes de Crevecoeur,
Faicte en Franche par l'ortographe,
Laquelle a escript de bon coeur
Et selon que dist le songneur.
Bourgongne respond sans grant plaitz,
Comme vous orrés le teneur
Se faire sillence il vous plaist.

[4] I reproduce this prologue exactly as Liot de Nortbécourt printed it in 1861.

[5] It would seem that Liot de Nortbécourt had two manuscripts at his disposal. He took his text from the one; but he twice mentions "un autre exemplaire de notre manuscrit." See the *Bulletin de la Société des Antiquaires de la Morinie*, vol. ii, p. 921 and p. 868, n. 1.

[6] As I am here copying straight from the manuscript and not from a printed text, I have added my own accentuation and punctuation. At this point I must express my gratitude to the Syndics of the Fitzwilliam Museum for allowing me to print passages from their manuscript.

The two letters *on* of *le songneur* are indistinctly copied, and one feels that this word was but little understood by the scribe. Fortunately this epitaph does not exist only in MS. 283/2 and in the pages of the *Bulletin de la Société des Antiquaires de la Morinie*, both of which versions have been ascribed to Jean Molinet. A second manuscript copy is to be found in ff. 38r° to 42r° of MS. 14864–65 of the Bibliothèque Royale of Brussels, and this second manuscript copy gives incontrovertible proof of the identity of the author, an identity which can already be guessed from the prologue of MS. 283/2. In the Brussels manuscript the prologue is copied as follows[7]:

Cy en aprez sieult l'epytaphe
Du bon Phl[ipp]es de Criefvecoeur,
Faicte en Franche par l'ortographe,
Laquelle a escrit de bon coeur
Et selon que dict le Songeur.
Bourgongne respond sans grandz plaitz,
Comme vous orrez la teneur
Se ce quy sieult lire il vous plait.

What is more, in the version of the Brussels manuscript there is copied at the head of the epitaph to Philippe de Crèvecoeur a quatrain of alexandrines with a second rhyme at the caesura, a quatrain which is not there in MS. 283/2:

Phlippes de Criefvecoeur, que le roy appestoit,
Respondit que son coeur le voiaige doubtoit.
Le roy pour sa querelle luy dict qu'il reculla.
Retournant a La Brelle, Criefvecoeur morut la.

This quatrain is a copy of eight six-syllabled lines forming part of the *Cronicque Abregié*[8] of Nicaise Ladam.[9] It is, then, abundantly clear that this epitaph on

[7] I have again accentuated and punctuated this quotation.

[8] One might imagine that in the title *Cronicque Abregié* the word *abregie* was the picard feminine of the past participle of a verb in *-ier*. That is not so. For Nicaise Ladam and his copyists, as for many of his contemporaries, the word *cronicque* is masculine and one must print *Cronicque Abregié*. See for example the following lines copied from the text of the *Cronicque Abregié* printed by Michel Hoochstraten, and from the manuscript copy of MS. 283/2:

i. Cronicque abresiet par Nicaise ladā . . . (the title of the pamphlet printed by Michel Hoochstraten in 1516).

ii. Par ce point ie voeul cloire
mon Cronicque abregiet
priant au roy de gloire
que iaie au vray songiet . . .
(stanza CCV of the poem as Michel Hoochstraten printed it in 1516).

iii. Cy aprez s'ensuyt ung [c]ronicque abregié, composé par . . . (incipit at the bottom of f° 133v° of MS. 283/2).

iv. Atant faict fin pour le point a son cronicque abregié ledict Nicaise Ladam . . . (explicit on f° 180v° of MS. 283/2).

[9] In MS. 283/2, f° 135r°, these lines of the *Cronicque Abregié* are printed as follows:

Ph[lippe]s de crieuecoeur
que le Roy appetoit
respondit que son coeur
le voiaige doubtoit
le Roy pour sa querelle
luy dist quil reculla
retournant a la brelle
crieuecoeur morut la.

Philippe de Crèvecoeur was the work not of Jean Molinet but of Nicaise Ladam, roi d'armes of the Emperor Charles V, *le Songeur* being, as is well known, one of several pseudonyms used by this Burgundian poet.

II. AN EPITAPH ON THE EMPEROR MAXIMILIAN

The last of the four epitaphs attributed by Messrs. Sotheby's cataloguer to Jean Molinet bears the following title:

> Aultre epitaphe de feu digne de bonne memorie, treshault, trespuissant, tresillustre Empereur Maximilian d'Austrice.

This poem is copied on ff. 119v° to 120v° of MS. 283/2, and it consists of 88 alexandrines divided into 22 monorhymed quatrains. It lacks the fire and enthusiasm so evident in the epitaph on Philippe de Crèvecoeur, for the virtues of the Emperor Maximilian lent themselves to a more prosaic style and treatment. The author gives us a résumé of the more important events in the career of his hero, he shows throughout a prejudice which is natural enough in a historiographer, and towards the end he permits himself a final judgment on his emperor, whom he describes as:

> . . . tresillustre, amiable et leal,
> Vaillant, puissant, devot, honneste et cordial,
> Excellent justicier, prudent et liberal. (78–80)

In MS. 283/2, the author is not named. Maximilian died at Wels in Austria on 12 January 1519, and one can presume that the epitaph was written during that year. We are, then, in the presence of a poem of which the author neglects to give us his name, of a poem whose only attribution, made by a professional cataloguer, is quite impossible, since it is known that Molinet died in 1507, and sixteenth-century epitaphs, unlike the *Times*' obituaries, were written after and not before the death of the person commemorated. When I first read ff. 119v° to 120r° of MS. 283/2 I thought that I had discovered an unpublished poem. This was not so, and what is more the name of the epitaph's author is not so difficult to prove as I had at first imagined. In the library of the University of Ghent there exists under the catalogue number *Rés.* 676 a little pamphlet of four quarto pages, printed in black-letter, probably at Antwerp in 1519. This pamphlet bears the following title:

> Épitaphe de feu digne de bonne mémoire, treshault, trespuissant et tresillustre empereur Maximilian d'Austrice.

The title is followed by an engraving of the arms of Giovanni de' Medici, Pope Leo X, and then by the 88 alexandrines of our poem. In all probability this pamphlet of the University of Ghent is not a unique copy. A second copy is known to have been in the R. Heber collection in 1836 and a third was sold at the Rymenans sale at Ghent in 1842. What is, however, much more important is the fact that the pamphlet contains the signature of the author of the epitaph in question, for at the bottom of the last page appear the three words *Par le*

Songeur. Finally, on ff. 12r° to 13r° of the same MS. 14864–65 of the Bibliothèque Royale of Brussels which I have used for the epitaph on Philippe de Crèvecoeur there appears a second manuscript copy of the epitaph on Maximilian; and this time the author is named twice. In this copy the title of the poem is followed by the three words *faict par Grenade,* and at the foot of the last stanza is written *Amen. Plucque bien Grenade. Plucque bien* was the motto of Nicaise Ladam; and *Grenade,* like *le Songeur,* one of his pseudonyms.

Of the four epitaphs copied in MS. 283/2, the two first are, then, clearly the work of Jean Molinet; but the epitaph on Philippe de Crèvecoeur and that on the Emperor Maximilian were written by Nicaise Ladam. I gave an edition of the Crèvecoeur epitaph in my article in the *Bulletin de la Commission Royale d'Histoire* of Belgium. Apart from the black-letter pamphlet produced probably in Antwerp in 1519, the epitaph for Maximilian remains unpublished. In the following pages I print the text of MS. 283/2, adding at the bottom the variants of MS. Bibl. Roy. Brux. 14864–65 and those of the Ghent pamphlet, but not including minor orthographical variations.

f° 119v°. *Aultre epitaphe de feu digne de bonne memorie, treshault, trespuissant, tresillustre Empereur Maximilian d'Austrice.*

Entre les empereurs treshaulx, cesariens,
Pour le sceptre rommain puissans, victoriens,
Au magnifficque estocq des prinches terriens
Doibt estre nommé ung par les historiens:

Lequel partit du sanc d'imperial demaine
De Sigismond, qui fut par l'eglise romaine
Mis en posession de l'empire germaine,
Dont Allebrech entra en ceste vie humaine.

D'Allebrech Frederich fut empereur nommé,
Puis Maximilian grandement renonmé,
Duquel ne poeult assés hault bruyt estre sommé
Ne le doeul de sa mort par oubly consommé.

En jonesse florye a commenchié son tempz.
La ducesse Marie espousa a vingt ans,
De laquelle produit au sciecle deux enffans:
Philippes et Margueritte en honneur triumphans.

Variants of MS. Bibl. Roy. Brux. 14864–65: *As title* S'enssuyt l'epitaphe de l'empereur Maximilien faict par Grenade. 5. imperial 8. allebert 9. D'allebert empereur fut 11. assez grand 13. flourit a commencher 16. en regne

Variants of Ghent pamphlet Rés. 676: Aultre *lacking in the title* trespuissant et tresillustre 5. imperial 8. allebert 9. De allebert empereur fust 13. floury a commenchier 16. en regne

Lors trouva le[s] païs desolés et sans regne,
Quattés et desriglés du roy Loÿs unziesme./
f° 120*r°*. A Guinegatte vint par guerre legittime
Combatre les Franchois dont on fit grant estime.

Tost aprés son espouse a Bruges trespassa.
Entre Franche et Bourgongne ung traictié se passa:
Charles filz de Loÿs Margueritte espousa;
Par ce point le bon prinche ung petit reposa.

Puis de brief nomobstant sa paisible fianche
Congnut devant ses yeulx mortelle deffiance.
Therouenne tourna, Aire fut en souffrance,
Et Sainct Omer dansa des menestriers de France.

En lieu de retourner en paisible repos,
Il reprint les hernois, confortant ses suppos.
Flamens et Brabenchons luy tournerent le dos,
Dont bien depuis (et) furent foullé de chair et d'os.

Ganthois et Brugelins firent plussieurs alarmes,
Mais depuis leur en fit plourer a grosses larmes.
Leur ville maistria par forche de gendarmes,
Se rompit leurs edictz, leurs escus et leurs armes.

Les bourgs et cabillaux plains de folle querelle
Respondirent par advis, sans guerre trop cruelle.
En la ville d'Utret, citté riche et moult belle,
Entra a son plaisir, quoy qu'elle fut rebelle.

Pour tenir son empire en paix et union
Et Suÿses hoster de quelque oppinion
Il entreprist la guerre en leurs possessions;
Puis leur acorda paix a bonne intention.

En Allemaigne avoit aulcuns compediteurs
Pour usurper son droit usant de leurs haulteurs:
Par armes declina leurs discors et erreurs
Aultant c'oncques mais firent nulz aultrez empereurs.

Variants of MS. Bibl. Roy. Brux. 14864-65—*continued.*—17. le païs desolé sans regime *for* et sans regne 18. Gallé et rigallé 20. Encontre les Franchois grande 22. passa *for* se passa 24. la province *for* le bon prinche 25. la *for* sa 29. se tourner 30. le harnas 32. Dont le païs en fut 34. de grosses larmes 35. Leurs villes 37. Les houx felle 38. Rejondit 43. Il en reprit leur possession 46. usantz 47. les *for* leurs

Variants of Ghent pamphlet Rés. 676—*continued*—17. les paiis desolez sans regime *for* et sans regne 18. Gallez et regallez 24. leprin ce *for* le bon prinche 25. la *for* sa 26. ces yeulx 29. sejourner 32. Dont le paiis en fust 34. leurs des grosses larmes 35. Leurs villes 37. Les houx 38. Rejondist 40. que elle 43. Il en reprist—leur possession 44. Puis il leur 46. usans 47. les *for* leurs 48. que oncques

Pour ses enffans conduire en tempz et en saison
Les mist et allia un[e] realle maison:
Dont Ph[i]lippes son filz, suscedant par raison,
Laissa a son filz Charles roiaulmes a foison.

A Philipes son filz conseilla entreprendre/
f° 120*v°*. De Gueldre recouvrer, ou par armes le prendre.
Charles d'Esquemont lors n'y volloit point entendre,
Mais en mains de .iij. mois a merchi se vint rendre.

Et depuis qu'il vit mort son filz roy de Castille,
Au roy de Dennemarche allia une fille;
Une aultre en Hongrie au roy pour luy brille;
Et l'aultre en Portugal, aisnee tresgentille.

Mains plussieurs bon[s] traictiers en ce mondain fabricque
Ont passé par ses mains, de quoy plus ne fabricque,
S'il ont esté rompus par oeuvre dangnifficque:
Dieu congnoit les ouvriers, inventeurs de traficque.

Pappes, roys et seigneurs, fourés en discordanche,
A son povoir les a remis en concordance.
Leurs tresors fist espardre en tresgrande habondance,
Premier qu'il ait marchié a la mortelle dance.

Et premier que morir a bien tenu les mains
Pour le roy catholique aux electeurs germains,
Par tel moien qu'il l'ont esleu roy des Romains,
Dont pour estre empereur il n'en vault point de mains.

Aprés a regardé pour son definement.
Comme bon catholicque a faict son testament,
Contrit et vray confés, en bon entendement
Vollu rendre son ame a Dieu devottement.

En ce point termina son regne imperial,
Lequel fut tresillustre, amiable et leal,
Vaillant, puissant, devot, honneste et cordial,
Excellent justicier, prudent et liberal.

Variants of MS. Bibl. Roy. Brux. 14864-65—*continued*—50. en *for* un 55. d'Aigremont 57. que *for* qu'il 59. Hongerie 60. Et en Portingal l'aultre 61. Maintz traictiez contraictiez en ce monde fabricque 62. passez 63. S'ilz 65. forcez 67. faict 68. en *for* a 71. qu'il ont 72. pas *for* point 73. a *for* pour 75. de *for* en 78. Auquel 79. *lacks* et

Variants of Ghent pamphlet Rés. 676—*continued*—50. en *for* un 56. s'en vint 57. que il *for* qu'il 59. Honguerie 60. Et en Portingal l'aultre 61. Mains traictiers contraictez en ce monde fabrique 62. passez 63. Se ilz 67. fait 68. que il 71. Par telz moyens qu'ilz ont 75. de *for* en 78. Au quel *lacks* et 79. *lacks* et

Plussieurs faictz excellens fort dignes de memoire
Sus les Turcqs et ailleurs ou on s'en rememore
A l'onneur du deffunct poront estre en histoires
Des cronicqueurs, ausquelz les cas seront notoires.

Mil chincq cens [et] dixhuyt, le XIIe. en janvier
A Wolpus les Hongrye est mort sans recouvrier,
A soixante et ung an. Pour son regne amplier
Et son ame eslever voeullons pour luy prier.
Amen. Finis.

Variants of MS. Bibl. Roy. Brux. 14864-65—*continued*—82. Sur se *for* s'en 83. histoire 84. le cas est tout notoire 85. cens et dixhuict 86. Volpz en Hongerie recouvrir 87. sa gloire *for* son regne—Finis *lacking*—*adds* Plucque bien Grenade.

Variants of Ghent Pamphlet Res. 676—*continued*—82. se *for* s'en 83. histoire 84. le cas est tout notoire 85. cens et dixhuit 86. Welpz 87. Sa gloire *for* son regne *lacks* Finis *adds* Par le Songeur.

III. THE "CRONICQUE ABREGIÉ," 1492 TO 1514, PRINTED IN BLACK-LETTER

The two MSS. 283/1 and 283/2 contain a curious mixture of literary and semi-literary texts written by the historiographers of the end of the fifteenth and the beginning of the sixteenth centuries; they also include a number of historical documents of this same period. The greater part of their 225 + 180 folios were copied on paper by various scribes; but ff. 134r° to 153v° of MS. 283/2 differ from almost all the others[10] by the fact that they are printed in gothic or black-letter instead of being written by hand. As an introduction to these printed pages, a scribe has written in a brief incipit at the foot of f° 133v°:

> Cy aprez s'ensuyt ung [c]ronicque abregié composé par Nicaise Ladam dist le Songeur, roy d'armes de l'empereur nostre sire, intitulé Grenade, commenchant l'an mil iiij C iiij XX et xij et finant l'an mil v C et xxvij.[11]

The twenty black-letter folios are numbered 134 to 153 in modern pencil; but at the bottom of rectos they have the printer's figures:

134 A ij; 135 A iij; 136 A iiij; 137 [A v]; 138 [A vj].
139 B i; 140 B ij; 141 B iij; 142 [B iv].
143 C i; 144 C ij; 145 C iij; 146 C iiij; 147 [C v]; 148 [C vj].
149 D i; 150 D ij; 151 D iij; 152 D iiij; 153 [D v].

[10] Ff. 2–30 of MS. 283/2 are also printed in black-letter, being from a printed edition of Monstrelet's *Chroniques*.

[11] The folios in fact contain the chronicle for the years 1492 to 1514; but see section iv of this article for the remainder.

The poem is divided into stanzas of eight six-syllabled lines which rhyme ABABCDCD. The twenty printed folios contain, recto and verso, 1,600 lines, at a rate of five stanzas per page, giving us in all 200 stanzas of the "Cronicque Abregié." The historical events described by Nicaise Ladam begin in 1492 and finish in 1514 and the poet thus unrolls before us twenty-three years of European history.

These twenty black-letter folios of MS. 283/2 are in short a hitherto unknown copy, almost complete and only the third in existence, of the edition of Nicaise Ladam's "Cronicque Abregié" which Michel Hoochstraten printed in Antwerp in 1516. The library of the University of Ghent possesses a fragment of this edition containing folios D ij, D iij, D iiij and [D v] only. The only complete copy of the 1516 edition known to exist is that of the Bibliothèque Royale of the Hague. When the Fitzwilliam Museum copy is compared with that of the Hague it is clear that the former has lost only f° [A i] and f° [D vj]. In short MS. 283/2 contains 200 of the 205 stanzas of the printed text of 1516, but it lacks the armorial bearings[12] and the titles of f° [A i] recto and verso and similarly it lacks the armorial bearings and the printer's inscription of f° [D vj] verso. The complete pamphlet of the Bibliothèque Royale of the Hague has only twenty-two folios. The recto of f° [A i] of the Hague copy bears the arms of Charles, prince of Spain, archduke of Austria, printed in red and black, and then the title of the poem:

Cronicque abresiet par Nicaise ladā dit songeur
demorant a Bappalmes cheuaulcheur ordi-
-naire de lescuierie de treshault trespuis-
-sant et redoubte Prince Charles
par la grace de dieu Prince
des Espaignes Archiduc Dau-
-strice &c Et seruiteur a messire Ferry
de Croy seigneur du Reux cōseillier & grād
Maistre Dhostel dudict Prince commenchant lā
Mil Quatrecens Quatreuingz & Douze.
Et finant en la fin du mois Doctobre
Mil Cincq cens et Quinze.

On the verso of f° [A i] appear the same arms, printed this time in black, and then the words:

Par La Grace Et Previlege Du Prince.

[12] The armorial bearings themselves are not lost. The red and black arms of [A i]r° have been cut out by some previous owner of the MS. and pasted on to the lower part of f° 11r° in MS. 283/1. Similarly the arms of [D vj]v° have been mounted on f° 11r° of MS. 283/2. I am grateful to Miss Phyllis Giles, Librarian of the Fitzwilliam Museum, for pointing this out.

The recto of f° [D vj] contains stanzas CCI, CCII, CCIII, CCIV and CCV of the poem, the final stanza giving the poet's pseudonym once more:

CCV. Par ce point ie voeul cloire
mon Cronicque abregiet
priant au roy de gloire
que iaie au vray songiet
quant en ce point ie songe
iattendz par mon songe heur
mais sil y a mensonge
pardonnes au songeur.[13]

The verso of f° [D vj] gives the arms of Charles a third time, in black, and then the printer's inscription:

Imprime en Anuers par Michel Hoochstratē
demourant audit lieu chez le cimetiere no-
-stre Dame. Lan Mil cincqcens et sai-
-ze par Congiet et Preveilege de
nostre Prince.

From time to time the personality of Nicaise himself can be glimpsed behind the arid lines of his chronicle, but he permits himself very few autobiographical allusions. He tells us first of all that he was 24 years old when he began his career as a rhétoriqueur in 1492.[14]

[13] The only punctuation in these black-letter stanzas is the full-stop which closes each eighth line. There is no accentuation.

[14] This is wrong. According to the inscription on his tomb in the church of Saint Jean de Ronville in Arras, Ladam was born in Béthune in 1465. The inscription was printed for the first time by Father Claude François Menestrier in "Les Recherches du Blason, seconde partie, de l'usage des armoiries," Paris, 1673, p. 145. From this book by Menestrier the Baron de Reiffenberg took the text which he published in the *Bulletin de l'Académie Royale de Sciences et Belles-Lettres de Bruxelles*, year 1841, vol. viii, pt. ii, pp. 38–9:

Précogitant que l'homme est serf à pourriture,
En ce tableau est mis du corps la pourtraicture,
Auquel Dieu doint que l'âme enfin au ciel repose,
Qui rhétorique aima, fût en rime ou en prose,
Par ses oeuvres appert écrites en son temps,
Et qui se porront lire après sa mort cent ans,
Entre les fils sortis du premier père Adam.
Son nom et son surnom sont Nicaise Ladam,
Combien qu'en sa jeunesse on l'appella Songeur,
Roy d'armes fut créé par Charles l'empereur,
Auquel estat, voulant augmenter son renom,
L'intitula Grenade, en la cité de Nom.
Des hauts princes servit en maints divers réames,
Bien exalta les corps desquels Dieu ait les âmes.
Entre autres chroniqueurs et historiographes
Fabriqua maints dictiers et plusieurs épitaphes.
Pérégrinant servit aux deux saints lieux, si comme
Saint Jacques de Galice et plusieurs fois à Rome;
Et premier que venist en son anchienneté,
Circuit la plus-part de toute chrestienté.
Sur quoy voyant venir son règne en décadence,
L'empereur très-illustre et tout plein de prudence,
Ordonna le susdit roy d'armes ordinaire
Demourer domestique et son pensionnaire,
Par mandement patent, seellé et signé,

I. L'an mil cincq cens huit mains
mon vingtquatriesme eage
pour complaire aux humains
en ce mortel voiaige
voeullant rethoricquer
suyvis les cours des princes
et pour mieulx cronicquer
frequentay leurs provinces. (A ij.)

He complains that he was not told exactly what happened at Calais on 9 June 1500 when the archduke Philippe met Henry VII of England and his queen:

XLIII. A leglise sainct Pierre
au plus prez de Callais
et ouuree de pierre
grande comme ung palais
larchiducq escolle
parla au roy Henry
de ce qui fust parle
nay point este nourry. (A vj.)

The death of archduke Philip at Burgos on 25 September 1506 filled Nicaise Ladam with a melancholy which seems genuine enough:

CXV. Maintenant sans conuiue
et sans bien substantif
sans oeuure coniunctiue
et sans preparatif
sans mondaine richesse
et sans orgoeul qui mort
il fault que mon ris cesse
pour compter de la mort. (C iij.)

Pour sa vie durant sur Flandres assigné,
Et pour vivre de mieux, joindant à Dieu les palmes,
L'establist et commist son prévost de Bapalmes,
Et portier du chasteau au dict lieu scitué,
Aux gages anciens par droict institué.
Mais parce qu'en Arras conclut soy transporter,
D'estat dudit prévost se voulut déporter.
Deux femmes épousa, l'une Jehanne Ricquart,
Et puis Claice Grarder, ici mise à l'escart.
Trois fils et quatre filles acquist de la première
Puis après seulement ung fils de la dernière.
Si cinquante et six ans régna en mariage
Et à octante deux expira son éage,
L'an, le mois et le jour icy bas par escript
(Voeuillez prier pour l'âme au benoist Jésus-Christ),
L'an mil cinq cents quarante et sept, bien se ramembre,
Au vingt-huitième jour et vray mois de septembre.
Le vray Dieu par sa grâce veuille à son âme aydier
Qu'elle puist face à face le voir à souhaitier,
Comme il en a mestier, en luy estant propiche,
Afin que il puist estre éternellement riche.

The text of this inscription is clearly modernised.

CXVI. Le roy de grand extime
et despaigne chief membre
le cour vingt cincquiesme
en ung mois de Septembre
l'an mil cincqcens et six
eust a bourges son tour
quant par mort fust transis
et mis a mere flour. (C iij v°.)

CXVII. O dieu quelle tristresse
et quelz gemissemens
quelle oeuure de destresse
et esbahissemens
huit iours deuant le veidz
de het au propre lieu
le iour que le seruys
rendant son ame a dieu. (C iij v°.)

He seems to have been at Cambrai on 10 December 1508, but was not permitted to see the famous treaty between Maximilian and Louis XII.

CXXXIX. J'acoustray mes bericles
cuidant le traictier voir
mais des pluiseurs articles
ie ne peulx rien scavoir. . . . (C v v°.)

These personal details clearly amount to very little, even when stanza CCV of the lost folio is added to them as quoted on page 76.

As against this the historical value of the "Cronicque Abregié" is considerable. Naturally enough, it is a chronicle in the mediaeval sense of the word, a list of historic events put together by a far from impartial historiographer, and not a work of unprejudiced criticism written in polished verse. As an example of the factual knowledge and of the narrative style of Nicaise Ladam I quote stanzas XCI to CV in which he tells us how the archduke Philip and queen Jeanne took ship for Spain in 1506 but were obliged to seek refuge in England.

XCI. Neantmoingz le voiaige
despaigne ne tarda
le roy de bon coraige
a son cas regarda
boreas vent de bize
feist desploier les toilles
maronniers a leur guize
leuerent matz et voiles. (C i.)

XCII. Le roy pour ung chascun
conduire au fait total
au partir mist pour ung
lieuten[ant] general
Guillame de croy
notable conseillier
qui du title a ioy
comme francq cheuallier. (C i.)

XCIII. Le roy et son espeuse
son sang et ses amis
sur la mer perilleuse
en hazart se sont mis
trompettes font sonnades
et resioissemens
et menestreurs obades
sans penser aux tourmens. (C i.)

XCIV. Quant le roy d'arragon
le depart entendist
pensa bien le scet on
quil perdoit ung credit
dont par coupz de fouetz
pugnir aucuns despaigne
la fille de foues
print a femme et compaigne. (C i.)

XCV. Quant le roy son beau filz
sus la mer navyoit
voiles cordons et filz
a son plaisir veoit
mais la chance tourna
les maronniers doubterent
boreas seiourna
et grand vens sesleuerent. (C i.)

XCVI. Les nuees immundes
se tournerent en fourdre
les wagues et les undes
commencherent a sourdre
patrons et bons pillotes
ne scavoient que dire
a tant piteuses nottes
ne sy troeuue que rire. (C i v°.)

XCVII. Les voiles descendirent
on ne pooit ancrer
nauires sespardirent
par force de wancrer
pour tous maulx souhaidier
neptunus faisoit ruire
a qui dieu voeult aidier
le deable ne poeult nuire. (C i v°.)

XCVIII. Le basteau du roy trache
pour trouuer port et terre
dieu le mest par sa grace
a ung port Dangleterre
les autres sont trouues
au port de cornouwaille
aises comme saulues
dune griefue bataille. (C i v°.)

XCIX. Le roy fort desplaisant
de ses gens desuoies
estoit triste et pensant
quilz estoient noiez
attendant en scauoir
au roy Henry transmist
lequel pour bon debuoir
messaigiers par tout mist. (C i v°.)

C. Pour dire brief et court
Henry roy excellent
transmist gens de sa court
vers le roy tresdolent
lequel pour adiutoire
fust tresbien conuoyet
iusques a widesoire
et du roy festoiet. (C i v°.)

CI. Bien tost fust le rapport
que le tout dieu mercy
estoit venu a port
non obstant le soussy
la fust mis tout rottir
et boullir sans ruyotte
mais souuent au partir
il fault compter a lhoste. (C ij.)

CII. Le bon roy par arroy
despendist grand tresor
Henry lors filz du roy
receupt la toison dor
chascun dun las se noeue
lun a lautre est begnin
mais on dist quen la quoeue
souuent gist le venin. (C ij.)

CIII. Apres le bon repos
et refreschissement
le bon roy tint propos
de son departement
mais premier que passer
le roy Henry pensa
quil feroit rapasser
sufokc qui lempescha. (C ij.)

CIV. Ce pas en pasience
passa en passion
car il na pas science
qui na compassion
par faincture constraincte
promeute dung coste
sufokc eust une estraincte
que chier luy a couste. (C ij.)

CV. Le bon roy part du lieu
et le roy Henry laisse
auquel il dist a dieu
sans faire de relaisse
son train fust equipe
et par si bon police
que sans estre occuppe
se trouua en galice. (C ij.)

As is well known, many manuscripts of the "Cronicque Abregié" exist, and even the printed edition of 1516 cannot be accepted as definitive for the stanzas which it contains. The twenty printed folios of MS. 283/2 show a number of hand-written corrections, made in all probability by the same hand which copied folios 154r° to 180v°, concerning which folios the fourth part of this article is written. A number of dates have been inserted in the margin, e.g. *Lan* 1492 against stanza I (A ij), *Lan mil iiij C iiij XX et xiij* against stanza VIII (A ij v°), etc. A more important feature is that eighteen new stanzas have been added in hand-writing in the following way: between XIII and XIV (A iij), one stanza; between XXVI and XXVII (A iiij v°), one stanza; between XXXVI and XXXVII (A v v°), four stanzas; between XXXVIII and XXXIX (A v v°), three stanzas; between LVIII and LIX (B i v°), one stanza; between XCII and XCIII (C i), one stanza; between CXXI and CXXII (C iiij), one stanza; between CLXXI and CLXXII (D iij), one stanza; between CLXXX and CLXXXI (D iij v°), one stanza; between CLXXXII and CLXXXIII (D iiij), one stanza; and between CLXXXIII and CLXXXIV (D iiij), three stanzas. Finally in several stanzas the actual wording has been altered, e.g. in CXXI (C iiij) the words

. . . scara
se le cas luy est bon
en Espaigne rira.

have been replaced by

. . . ouyt
come prince tresbon
point ne sen resiouyt.

and in CLXX (D ij v°) the words

sans faulx ennort navarre
bien asseuree estoit.

by

se concquesta navarre
que france regrettoit.

IV. THE "CRONICQUE ABREGIÉ," 1515 TO 1527, COPIED BY HAND

As we have seen the printed section of the "Cronicque Abregié" describes the events of the years 1492 to 1514.[15] In the last stanza of Michel Hoochstraten's pamphlet, a stanza which is missing in MS. 283/2 since f° 22 of that copy if lost, Nicaise Ladam tells us that his chronicle ends in 1514:

Par ce point ie voeul cloire
mon Cronicque abregiet . . .

He nevertheless went on later, and there exist manuscripts which include events down to 1547, the year of his death. What he wrote on the years 1515 to 1547 remains in manuscript, about a dozen copies of this text being still in existence, mostly in the manuscript collections of Belgium. Among those dozen copies there are some which end in 1519, in 1527, in 1528, in 1529, in 1537, in 1541, in 1542, in 1545 and in 1547.

In MS. 283/2 folio [D v] of Michel Hoochstraten's pamphlet bears the number 153. Folios 154 r° to 180 v° of this volume contain a copy of Nicaise Ladam's "Cronicque Abregié" for the years 1515 to 1527, a copy written out by the same man who had annotated and corrected the years 1492 to 1514 in the black-letter pamphlet. This copyist takes no notice of the fact that five stanzas are lacking at the end of the pamphlet, and no doubt in his day f° 22 of that printed document was still there; he starts immediately with the following stanza which appears at the top of what is now f° 154r°:

L'an quinze en ce point come — pour le cas fut promis,[16]
Le bon duc de Vendosme — par le roy fut transmis
A le Haye en Hollande, — ou le prinche jura,
Et plus je ne demande — qu'il en fut et sera.

Folios 154r° to 180v°, making in all 27 ff. recto and verso, contain 362 stanzas at 7 to the page, 173v° having only one stanza, 174r° having only one and 180v° having two stanzas followed by an explicit. As will have been noticed already, the six-syllabled lines are copied as though they were alexandrines with an interior rhyme at the caesura. The two concluding stanzas on f° 180v° read as follows:

Parlons de l'empereur — en sa fleur de jonnesse,
De son nom, de son heur, — et de son bruit qu'en esse:
De son los triumphant — et noble sanc d'Austrice
Ne reste que ung enffant — de l'humble imperatrice.

[15] There exist manuscript copies of the "Cronicque Abregié" in which the events described begin in 1488, e.g. MS. 14864–14865 of the Bibliothèque Royale, Brussels, which has an incipit on f° 29r°: "Le commencement dudict cronicque traicte de l'an mil quattre cens quattre vingtz et huict en continuant jusques a l'an mil V CC XLII." The stanza which I have quoted on p. 77, in which Ladam writes of "mon vingtquatriesme eage" ought presumably to act as prologue to one of these copies. The poet was born in 1465. He was in his twenty-fourth year when he began his chronicle in 1488.

[16] I have not wished to add accentuation and punctuation to the black-letter printing; but I have punctuated and accentuated the stanzas which are in manuscript copy.

Mil chincq cens [et] vingt sept
Ainssy come Deu scest,
Est a Velledolif,
En un seiour joly,
voeullant par escript mettre,
l'empereur mon bon maistre
aussy est sa compaigne,
et resort pour Espaigne.

Just as the last stanza of Michel Hoochstraten's pamphlet had done for 1514, so does the explicit of f° 180v° give the impression that the "Cronicque Abregié" ends in 1527:

Finis
Atant faict fin pour le point a son cronicque
abregié ledict Nicaise Ladam, roy d'armes
de l'empereur nostre seigneur, dict Grenade.

The twenty-seven folios of manuscript were copied straight out with hardly any correction; almost without doubt they are by the same hand as the annotations, corrections and additions on the black-letter folios. There is only one marginal note, but that note is of great interest. As I have explained on p. 75, the title page and the printer's signature are missing from the printed folios of MS. 283/2; the fragment in the library of the University of Ghent lacks those details too; on the contrary they are there at the beginning and at the end of the complete copy at the Hague. On the recto of f° 157 of MS. 283/2 a sixteenth-century hand which is not that of the copyist has written the single word *Hoochstraete.*

The most interesting stanzas for those years 1515 to 1527 are those where Nicaise Ladam describes for us the battle of Pavia. I print the last ten stanzas of that description:

172 v°. Suÿses sont tous mors,
Franche fait les remors
Les Franchois sont espars,
Jamais clercq pour ses pars
Bourbon crie victoire,
perdant le territoire.
[et] l'un sur l'aultre pris:
ne fut ainssi repris.

Courant, cherchant, trachant,
Le roy franchois puissant
Non point a fer de lanche,
Mais chairgié par vaillanche
en victoire fourmee,
fut pris la main armee,
car a piet s'estoit mis,
d'aulcuns ses anemis.

173 r°. Lors fut prins franchois roy
Par Charles de Lannoy
Estably visceroy
De vertueulx conroy
faisant armes cruelles
seigneur de Sennezelles,
pour l'empereur a Naples,
les haulx titles notables.

Ce hault roy demené
Prestement fut mené
C'est le duc de Bourbon,
Puis que le sanc est bon,
par fortune diverse
a sa partie adverse,
adjoinct au sainct empire.
le corps n'en vault du pire.

Le chief est pris, hellas!
Les membres sont bien las
Ou estes vous les pers
Du vray sanc les expers
Franche, quelle adventure!
de la desconfiture!
de Franche mis en ordre?
et chevaliers de l'ordre?

Quatre pers temporelz, et vostre baronnie,
Vos prinches naturelz et vostre artillerie,
Vos riches tresoriers, vostre riche conduitte,
Et vos advanturiers sont mors et mis en fuitte.

Il fault charchier aprés sçavoir qui est en vie;
Sus les mors loingz et pres n'y doibt avoir envye.
Assés poeult estre crut qu'en brief tempz Dieu labeure
Et que cent ans acrut tout se part en ung heure.

Tout procede de Dieu: ou il voeult il en donne,
Car en tempz et en lieu ou il voeult il ordonne.
L'homme fait les debatz, mais il est tout notoire
Que du hault et du bas Dieu donne la victoire.

Pour ung duc de Bourbon quel bruit et quelle gloire
Se poeult en ung bourg bon poser, mettre et enclore
D'avoir a son francq chois pris et mis en souffrance
Le roy nommé Franchois et tout l'orgoeul de Franche!

173 v°. Affin que tout chacun puist avoir congnoissance
De ce qui est commun et veu a souffisance
Tant de mors que de prins j'ay volut mettre en prose
Et ung brief y compris pour esclarcher la chose.

At this point Nicaise Ladam interrupts his rhymed chronicle to give us the text of the letter written by Francis 1st to his mother Louise de Savoie after the battle, and then to give the list of the prisoners and of the dead.

Coppies des lettres du roy envoyés a sa mere estant prisonnier.

Pour vous advertir comment se porte le reson de mon infortune, de toutes choses ne m'est demouré que l'honneur et la vie qui est sauve, et pource que en nostre nouvelle vous feray quelque peu de resconfort, j'ay prié que on me laisse vous rescripre ces lettres, ce que on m'a volluntairement accordé, vous suppliant volloir prendre l'extremité de vous mesmes, en usant de vostre accoustumee prudence, car j'ay espoir en la fin que Dieu ne me abandonera point; vous recommandant vos petis enffans et les miens, vous suppliant faire donner seur passaige pour aller et le retour en Espaigne au porteur qui va vers l'empereur, pour sçavoir comment il faudra que je soys traictié et sur ce treshumblement me recommande a vostre bonne grace. Mis en bas: Vostre humble et obeissant filz Franchois et escriptes de sa propre main.

Declaration des mors en ladicte journee.

Franchois frere du duc de Loraine. Monseigneur de la Trimoulle, gouverneur de Bourgongne. Monseigneur de Bonivet, admiral de Franche. Monseigneur de la Palice, mareschal de Cambanes. Buyssy d'Amboise. Chameron. Le capitaine Federicq. Le conte Galeas, grant escuyer de Franche. Mallafin. Le Blanche Roze, soy disant duc de Suffoc. Le conte de Tormorie. Le bailly de Digroy. Le tresorier Planchy. Babeau. Le tresorier de Melan. Velandry, l'argentier du Roy. Les capitaines de la garde, lesquelz on ne scest s'il sont mors ou eschapés.

Declaration des prisonniers.

Le roy de Franche, premier de ce nom. Le seigneur d'Albreth, soy disant roy de Navarre. Monseigneur le conte de Sainct Pol. Le marquis de Saluce. Loÿs, monseigneur de Nevers. Le princhе de Taillemont. Le princhе de Candol. Le mareschal de Souchy. Le mareschal de Rieux. Monseigneur de Coucy. Montmorency. Monseigneur de la Rochepot. Monseigneur le grand maistre de Franche, Bastart de Savoye, et son filz de Boisy. Le vidame de Chartres. Le gouverneur de Lymosin. Le Beaujolis et son filz. Montpesa.' Monseigneur de Mont Resneil. Le bailly de Paris. Ryant. Monseigneur de Brion. Le baron Buzeusac. Monseigneur de Frais. Maussy le Josnes. Montigny. Le seigneur Marsaut. Le seigneur de Florenges. Le seigneur de Chantrasses. Le visconte de Lavedent. Le seigneur de la Cleëtte. Le filz du chanchelier de Franche. Clement, maistre d'hostel de Beau Ferrier. Le seigneur Bucumauli. Le seigneur de Barbeseux. Le seigneur Vallery. Le conte de Vref. Et d'aultrez plussieurs dont n'est mension, tant de gentilz homes de la maison du roy, que d'archiers de la garde, gentilz homes suÿsses, adventuriers et aultrez des ordonnances et retenues et servans jusques au nombre de trentequatre ou trentesix mil homes dont ici n'est faicte declaration.

As can readily be seen, Nicaise Ladam's "Cronicque Abregié" can scarcely be called true narrative poetry; it is little more than everyday prose arranged in a six-syllabled form.[17] The virtues of the king of arms of the Emperor Charles V are that he was most familiar with the leading men and with the historical happenings of his own period, that he had travelled widely and that he had been present in person at many of the most important events in European history of the last decade of the fifteenth century and of the first half of the sixteenth. His works remain unpublished for the most part; I should like eventually to prepare a critical edition of them.

LEWIS THORPE

[17] See, e.g., the article on Nicaise Ladam in the *Bibliotheca Belgica*: "Très médiocre poète, Ladam nous donne dans ses divers écrits, notamment dans sa chronique inédite, un grand nombre de renseignements sur les hommes et les événements de son temps." See also the Baron de Reiffenberg in the *Bulletin de l'Académie Royale des Sciences et Belles-Lettres de Bruxelles*, 1841, vol. viii, pt. 2, p. 37: "Que le mot poésie que j'emploie ici ne trompe cependant personne. Il ne s'agit que de la forme, car aucune étincelle poétique ne jaillit de l'oeuvre de Ladam."

THE SCANDINAVIANS IN DERBYSHIRE: THE PLACE-NAME EVIDENCE[1]

Written sources provide little information for the history of the area which comprises modern Derbyshire during the late ninth and early tenth centuries, when the earliest Scandinavian settlements took place. What is known from such sources can be stated briefly.

The chronologically earliest reference is clearly misleading if an attempt is made to link it with actual settlement. In 871, following his death in battle at Reading, the body of the ealdorman Æðelwulf was brought for burial, *in locum qui Northworthige nuncupatur, juxta autem Danaam linguam Deoraby* (Ethelwerd). It would seem certain that all that can be reasonably deduced from this statement is the replacement of an English place-name by one of Danish origin. It is certainly no indication that at so early a date as 871 actual Danish settlement had occurred. One may suggest that the later chronicle writer was drawing upon either personal knowledge or tradition that such a change of name took place; it by no means follows that the change had been effected by 871. Further, it may be asserted that the fact that Æðelwulf's body could be brought for burial to *Northworthy* in Mercia suggests, at the very least, that there were few Scandinavians in the area at that time. The statement in *Ethelwerd's Chronicle* is clearly inadmissible as evidence for the dating of the earliest Scandinavian settlements in Derbyshire.

A similar conclusion must also be drawn from the wintering of the Danish army at Repton in 873-4.[2] *The Anglo-Saxon Chronicle* makes no mention of settlement; Repton is merely the winter quarters of the army, and there is no reason to believe that it served other than as such.

The Danish army, which left Repton in 874, split into two to continue its attacks, one to the north to commence in 876 the first large-scale settlement of the north of England, the other to Cambridge subsequently to attempt for a second time the subjugation of Wessex. The southern division, having failed to reduce Wessex, was compelled to retire, and in 877 the actual settlement of Mercia took place. The Danes kept half for themselves, the other half they handed over to the puppet King, Ceolwulf. Modern Derbyshire falls within the Danish portion of Mercia, and it is clear that the greater part of the earliest Scandinavian settlements in the county belongs to the division and settlement

[1] Aspects of Scandinavian settlement in Derbyshire have been considered in two articles, both based chiefly on place-name evidence. F. T. Wainwright, "Early Scandinavian Settlement in Derbyshire," *Journal of the Derbyshire Archaeological and Natural History Society*, vol. lxvii (1947), pp. 96–119, considers the evidence for the early settlements but quotes no early forms. G. E. Morris, "The Place-Names and Settlement of part of North Derbyshire," *Proceedings of the Leeds Philosophical and Literary Society* (*Literary and Historical Section*), vol. vi, part iii (1946), pp. 137–147, covers only a small part of the county. Neither had access to a comprehensive collection of early forms. These will be referred to in this article as Wainwright and Morris respectively.

[2] See ASC s.a. 874.

of Mercia in 877. It cannot be ruled out as a possibility that there may have been Danes living in Derbyshire before this date, but clearly 877 is the important date from the point of view of a general Danish settlement.

There are two pieces of documentary information for Derbyshire from the early part of the tenth century. It will be seen that there is little evidence from the place-names of the area of very early Scandinavian settlement in north-west Derbyshire.[3] Here, at Bakewell in 924, however, Edward the Elder ordered a *burh* to be constructed and manned.[4] In the previous year he had repaired the Roman fortification at Manchester, then proceeded to Nottingham, where, on the south bank of the R. Trent, he had constructed a new *burh*. The choice of Bakewell, in the Peak of Derbyshire, as a site for an intermediate fortification was doubtless partly strategic, since it is situated approximately mid-way between Manchester and Nottingham. It commands the valley of the R. Wye, a little distance from its confluence with the R. Derwent, and the entrances to the surrounding high ground. At the same time, it presupposes at least some Scandinavian population serving as a possible threat to Edward's authority. Confirmation of this is provided by a charter dated 926,[5] by which King Athelstan confirmed land at Hope and Ashford to a certain Uhtred, which the latter had bought at the command of King Edward from the heathen. At this date "the heathen" can refer to no one but Scandinavians. Ashford is the next village upstream from Bakewell, while Hope is some ten miles north of Bakewell in the uplands of the Peak. By the end of the first quarter of the tenth century, therefore, there was at least some Scandinavian settlement in the northern part of Derbyshire.

There is unfortunately little archaeological evidence from the Scandinavian period in the county, with the important exception of the cemetery near Heath Wood, Ingleby. Here six burial mounds were excavated from 1941 onwards, and in one fragments of a sword were discovered, which E. T. Leeds considered to be pagan workmanship of the late ninth century.[6] In the excavation of a seventh mound in 1948 part of a sword, dated by E. T. Leeds 800–950, came to light.[7] But subsequent excavation at this site in 1955 produced no significant object, and in fact most of the mounds then examined contained no grave-goods.[8] The proximity of this site to Repton led F. T. Wainwright to suggest that "it would be unwise to try to forge too close a link between the Ingleby site and the known historical fact that the Danish army spent the winter of 873–4 about three miles away at Repton."[9] He argues cogently that this

[3] See further pp. 109–13.
[4] See ASC s.a. 924.
[5] MS. Peniarth 390, p. 346, and BCS 658.
[6] See Camden Clarke and William Fraser, "Excavations of Pagan Burial Mounds: Ingleby, Derbyshire," *Journal of the Derbyshire Archaeological and Natural History Society*, vol. lxvi (1946), pp. 1–23. For the dating of the sword fragments see *Report 1*, pp. 10–14.
[7] See *Journal of the Derbyshire Archaeological and Natural History Society*, vol. lxix (1949), pp. 78–81.
[8] These excavations were carried out under the direction of Dr. M. Posnansky, formerly of the University of Nottingham.
[9] See Wainwright, p. 96.

cemetery would seem rather to represent fairly intensive Scandinavian settlement over a number of years. As will be seen, the evidence of the place-names of that part of Derbyshire south of the R. Trent substantiates his views in very large measure.[10]

No carved stones, either of Scandinavian workmanship or showing traces of Scandinavian influence and datable in the earliest period of the Scandinavian settlements in Derbyshire are extant. There are, however, at least nine such stones, from Ashbourne, Aston upon Trent, Bakewell, Blackwell, Brailsford, Chapel en le Frith, Derby, Hope and Norbury, which have been dated in the late tenth century or later,[11] and which indicate at least Scandinavian influence, and perhaps settlement also, in these places. Three, moreover, have the characteristic ring-knot said by Collingwood to be a specially Norwegian motive,[12] and one, Fragment 8 from Bakewell dated c. 1000, is carved with a vertebral or chain pattern of Norse origin. Norwegian influence in the place-names of the county is an important question which will be discussed later,[13] and its presence on carved stones so far south as Derbyshire need occasion little surprise.

If the evidence provided by such sources as those discussed above is slight, that derived from place-names is, comparatively speaking, considerable. None the less, it is important to distinguish carefully the various types of place-name, and the different evidence they afford. Only a very few names appear to be typical of the earliest settlements; others can be confidently placed in a slightly later period; but the vast majority of both place- and field-names cannot be assigned to any given period with certainty. This last group, however, is important, as will be seen, since the evidence it provides indicates areas in which Scandinavian settlements must have been considerable, and others in which there must have been an extension of Scandinavian influence in the gradual development of settlement in later periods. In these latter areas it would seem that the local dialect included many words of Scandinavian origin, which are reflected largely in place-names of topographical features and in field-names, but only rarely in the names of the sites of settlements.

The only Scandinavian place-name element which seems to belong as a class to the earliest phases of Scandinavian settlement in England is ODan **bȳ**, OWScand **bœ̄r**, "a farmstead, a village."[13b] In Derbyshire there were ten place-names, two now lost, which contained this element:

> Appleby,[14] *Æppelby* c. 1002 (14th)[15] ASWills, *Appelbi* 1004 (13th) *Peniarth*, first element OE **æppel** "apple";

[10] See p. 104 *et seq.*

[11] T. E. Routh, "A Corpus of the Pre-Conquest Carved Stones of Derbyshire," *Journal of the Derbyshire Archaeological and Natural History Society*, vol. lviii (1937), pp. 1–46.

[12] W. G. Collingwood, *Northumbrian Crosses of the Pre-Norman Age*, London, 1927, p. 149.

[13] See pp. 114–5.

[13b] All examples of this element in English place-names are derived from **bȳ**, *v.*, EPN i, 66.

[14] Now transferred to Leicestershire.

[15] Where two dates are given the first is that at which the document purports to have been written, the second in brackets that of the copy which has come down to us.

PLACE-NAMES OF SCANDINAVIAN ORIGIN IN DERBYSHIRE

SHOWING

present county boundary

former county boundary

hundred boundary

and distribution of elements

SCALE OF MILES

2 1½ 1 ½ 0 2 4 6 8

HUNDREDS

I High Peak

II Scarsdale

III Wirksworth

IV Morleyston & Litchurch

V Appletree

VI Repton & Gresley

ELEMENTS

by

þorp

þveit

bōth

brekka, slakki

grein

hybrids in tūn

others

Blingsby, *Blanghesbi* 1086 DB, *Blingsbie* 1576 DbA xx, first element an ON personal name *Blæingr*;
Bretby, *Bretbi* 1086 DB, *Brettebi* 1166 P (p), first element OE **Brettas**, gen. pl. **Bretta**, or ON **Bretar**, gen. pl. **Breta** "the Britons";
Denby, *Denebi* 1086 DB, *Deneby* 1234 Fees, first element OE **Dene**, gen. pl. **Dena** "the Danes";
Derby, *Deoraby* 871 (c. 1000) Ethelwerd, 917 (c. 1050) ASC C, *Dyreby* 1009 *Coins*, first element ON ***djúr**, **dýr** "an animal, a beast";
Herdebi,[16] *Herdebi* 1086 DB, first element OE **heord** "a herd, a flock";
Ingleby, *Englabý* 1009 *SaltCh*, *Englebi* 1086 DB, first element OE **Engle**, gen. pl. **Engla** "the Angles";
Smisby, *Smidesbi* 1086 DB, *Smiðesbi* 1166 P (p), first element OE **smið** or ON **smiðr** "a smith, a worker in metal";
Stainsby, *Steinesbi* 1086 DB, first element an ON pers. n. *Steinn*;
and *Wingby*,[17] *Wengeby* 1315 DbCh, *Wyngeby* 1392 ib, *Wingby* 1392 ib first element an ON nick-name *Vængr*.

The number of place-names containing the element **bȳ** is therefore small as compared with 21 in Nottinghamshire, 67 in Leicestershire, and perhaps as many as 300 in Lincolnshire. Moreover, there is no great cluster of such names, again as compared with those in parts of Leicestershire and Lincolnshire, though three, Bretby, Ingleby and Smisby, occur in a group to the south of the R. Trent, and in the neighbourhood of the Scandinavian cemetery at Heath Wood. It is quite clear, on the evidence of names in **bȳ** alone that early Scandinavian settlement in Derbyshire must have been much slighter than in any of the three counties to the east. Derbyshire must have been on the fringe of the Danelaw, but, perhaps surprisingly, a close study of the minor and field-names of the county suggests that the Scandinavian settlement was more intensive than the more obvious names of Scandinavian origin on a modern map would at first sight indicate.

An analysis of the first elements, and of the geographical distribution, of the ten names which contain the element **bȳ** is instructive. In three, Blingsby, Stainsby and *Wingby*, the first element is a Scandinavian personal name. Of these *Blæingr*, which occurs in Blingsby, does not seem to have been found frequently in England, while *Vængr*, in *Wingby*, occurs very rarely. The first element of Derby is a Scandinavian word, those in Appleby and *Herdebi* are English words, and that in Smisby could have been either English or Scandinavian, since both would have given identical forms in ME documents. The racial names Britons, Danes and Angles are respectively the first elements of Bretby, Denby and Ingleby. It is a reasonable assumption from the name itself that Ingleby was situated in an area of predominantly Scandinavian settlement, and that conversely Denby was a Danish settlement in a predominantly English area. The Britons who settled in Bretby were almost certainly those from the north-west of England, who accompanied the Nor-

[16] Now lost, but it is perhaps to be identified with Coxbench in the parish of Holbrook. All "lost" place-names are printed in italics.
[17] Now lost, but it was apparently situated in the parish of Walton, near Chesterfield.

wegian settlers,[18] and this name is evidence of people in Derbyshire who themselves were associated with men of Norwegian descent. These Britons must have come from some part of Cumbria where the Scandinavian settlers were predominantly of Norwegian stock.[19]

The geographical distribution of these names in **bȳ** shows, as has been stated, one fairly close group of three south of the R. Trent. Another, Appleby, now in Leicestershire, is to the south of this group, and is clearly to be associated with Ashby, Blackfordby, and the lost *Kilwardby*, which gave its name to an archbishop of Canterbury, in Leicestershire itself. Indeed the evidence of the place-names in **bȳ** clearly suggests an area of dense Scandinavian settlement south of the R. Trent, and on both sides of the modern county boundary. Derby, the military headquarters of a Danish army, had replaced an earlier English name, a fact which suggests that there must have been considerable English settlement in the area before the Danes arrived. North of Derby are the lost *Herdebi* and Denby, not far from the Roman road Ryknield Street, which ran north from Little Chester on the outskirts of Derby. This is an area where place-names suggest that Anglian settlement was heavy, and, as has been seen, Denby, "the farm of the Danes," must have been in a region where Danes were an unusual feature of the population. The lost *Wingby*, south of Chesterfield, stands isolated, but Blingsby and Stainsby are close together in the same parish, Ault Hucknall, near the county boundary with Nottinghamshire. On the other side of this boundary are Skegby, Kirkby and Lindby, giving the impression, as in the south of the county, of fairly intensive Scandinavian settlement. It may well be that the Danish settlers here were part of a group associated rather with Nottingham than with Derby. Whatever the case, it is clear that the evidence of the whole group of place-names in **bȳ** indicates early settlements at some distance from the military centre of the area, apart of course from in Derby itself. This pattern is precisely the same as in the adjacent county of Nottinghamshire.[20]

One further question concerning this group of place-names must be considered—whether they represent entirely new settlements, or whether any were existing English settlements taken over by Danes, in the names of which the Scandinavian element **bȳ** has replaced an English word which had a similar meaning. In the main, the former appears on general grounds to have been the case, especially where the place-name is a Scandinavian compound. Derby, however, serves as a warning that even where the name is a Scandinavian compound the Danes took over an earlier English settlement and gave it a Scandinavian name. Moreover, in names like Appleby it has been argued that ODan **bȳ** may have replaced OE **tūn**, "an enclosure, a farmstead, etc.", and indeed there are examples where this appears to be the case.[21] No general conclusion is in fact possible and while some place-names in **bȳ** may represent

[18] Compare Birkby (PN NRY xxvii and 211) and EPN i, 50, s.v. **Brettas.**
[19] See PN Cu xxii-xxvii.
[20] See the relevant Distribution Map in PN Nt.
[21] See EPN. i, p. 68.

entirely new settlements others are clearly older farmsteads and the like taken over by the Danes.

Whatever doubts may be entertained concerning the origin of certain of the places discussed above, there can be little doubt of the origin of that class of place-name which consists of a Scandinavian personal name compounded with OE **tūn**. There are firm grounds for believing that as a group they belong to a period only a little later than that containing **bȳ**.[22] These hybrid names are not found for the most part in areas in which names in **bȳ** occur, and at the same time these are areas in which it would appear that considerable English settlement had already taken place. In Derbyshire they occur, as will be seen, on what is now some of the finest agricultural land in the county. Again they are situated where few distinctively Scandinavian place-names are found. Furthermore, for the most part they are grouped to the west and south of Derby and could represent an extension of settlement away from the military headquarters.

It seems most likely that this group of hybrid names represents English settlements, taken over by Scandinavians. Here the name of the new Danish owner has simply replaced that of the original English settler at that place. This is not of course to imply that the English were driven out, rather perhaps that they continued to live in their old homes, but now with a Danish lord instead of an English one.

There are at least eleven such hybrid place-names in Derbyshire[23]:

Foston, *Foston* a. 1138 (c. 1350) Okeover (p), *Fostona* 1162 *Tutbury* (p), *Foteston* e. 14th *SaltCh*, from the OScand nick-name *Fótr*;
Kedleston, *Chetelestune* 1086 DB, *Ketelestun* c. 1199 DbCh, *Keteleston'* 1206 P, from the ON personal name *Ketill*, ODan *Ketil*;
Ravenstone,[24] *Ravenestun* 1086 DB, *Raveneston* c. 1125 LeiSur, 1189 Abbr, from the OScand personal name *Hrafn*;
Roston, *Roschintone* 1086 DB, *Rocinton'* 1221 Cur, *Roscinton* 1281 FF, from the ON personal name *Hrosskell*[25];
Scropton, *Scrotun* (sic) 1086 DB, *Scropton* late 11th, c. 1141 *Tutbury*, from the OScand personal name *Skropi*;
Stenson, *Steintune* 1086 DB, *Steineston* c. 1141 *Tutbury*, 1206 Cur, from the ON personal name *Steinn*;
Sturston, *Stertune* 1086 DB, *Sterton* c. 1141 *Tutbury*, *Sturstona* c. 1192 Shir, from the ON personal name *Stýrr*, ODan *Stur*;
Swarkeston, *Suerchestune* 1086 DB, *Sworkeston* 1210 Abbr, *Swerkeston* 1230 P, from the ODan personal name *Swerkir*;
Thulston (in Elvaston),[26] *Turulvestun*, *Torulfestune* 1086 DB, *Thurlestone* c. 1240 *Dale*, from the ON personal name *Þórólfr*, ODan *Thorulf*;

[22] See Wainwright, pp. 105–7.
[23] A further example may be Snelston, *Snellestune* 1086 DB, *Snelleston'* 1177 P (p), but the personal name *Snell* is recorded in both OE and OScand.
[24] Now transferred to Leicestershire.
[25] Forms of this personal-name *Roschin*, *Roskin*, which are found elsewhere in early records would be due to the Anglo-Norman sound-substitution of *-n* for *-l*.
[26] The name given in brackets here and elsewhere is that of the modern civil parish in which the place-name under discussion is situated.

Thurvaston, *Turverdestune, Torverdestune* 1086 DB, *Turuerdeston'* 1190 P (p), from the ON personal name *Þorfrøðr*;
and Tupton, *Top(e)tune* 1086 DB, *Tuptone* 1185 Templars, from the ODan personal name *Tupi*.

With two exceptions, Ravenstone in the extreme south and now in Leicestershire,[27] and Tupton in the north-east near Chesterfield, these hybrid place-names are situated to the north of the R. Trent and to the west of the R. Derwent, chiefly in the hundred of Appletree on excellent agricultural land. Most of them, therefore, occur in an area where there are no names in **bȳ**, though some are on the fringes of the small group consisting of Bretby, Ingleby and Smisby across the R. Trent. They are almost all today the names of important villages and with the single exception of Foston are recorded in Domesday Book. In every case the impression is of a very old settlement.

The group of hybrids south and west of Derby seems to indicate an extension and expansion of Scandinavian settlement beyond the areas covered by names in **bȳ**, and indeed one may assert that the pattern of these hybrid names on the modern map, on the circumference of what is almost a semi-circle around Derby, suggests an expansion from the military centre of the area. Clearly Scandinavian influence here cannot have been as strong as in the areas in which names in **bȳ** occur, and the English element in the population must have been considerable. At the same time the Danes must have been powerful enough to impose their authority completely on the existing native population. Linguistically, as Wainwright has suggested,[28] they were sufficiently powerful to influence but not to dominate the English speakers of the district. This impression is substantiated, as will be seen, by the evidence of minor place-names and field-names.[29]

Clearly associated with this group of hybrid place-names are four names of a similar type. Two,

Kirk Ireton, *Hiretune* 1086 DB, *Irton* 1298 Cl,
and Ireton Fm (Weston Underwood), *Iretune* 1086 DB, *Yrton* c. 1141 *Tutbury, Irton'* 1159–66, c. 1200 Darley,

mean "farm of the Irishman or Irishmen." The first element in both cases is ON **Íri** which besides meaning "Irishman" also denoted a Norwegian who had been to Ireland before coming to England, or an Irishman who accompanied the Norwegians to England. Wainwright has suggested that such names as Ireton are less reliable as evidence of Norse or Irish settlement than names like Ir(e)by.[30] But if the interpretation of the relationship between Scandinavian names in **bȳ** and Anglo-Scandinavian hybrids compounded of a Scandinavian personal name and OE **tūn** is accepted then a similar relationship between the Ir(e)bys and the Iretons seems likely.

[27] For this name and a discussion of neighbouring place-names of a similar type, see Wainwright, pp. 107–8.
[28] See Wainwright, p. 108.
[29] See pp. 106–8.
[30] See Wainwright, p. 117.

Not far distant from the two Iretons are

Mammerton (Longford), *Malmerton'* 1197 P, *Malmerton(a)* John DbCh, Hy 3 *WollCh*, "*Melmor's* farm,"

and Mercaston, *Merchenestune* 1086 DB, *Murcaneston* c. 1141 *Tutbury*, *Merkaniston* 1247 RadCh, "*Merchiōn*'s farm."

The personal name *Melmor* is ultimately OIr *Maelmuire*, "servant of Mary," which was borrowed into OWScand as *Melmor*.[31] The personal name *Merchiōn* is OWelsh in origin, ultimately Latin *Marciānus*, and is found also among the Britons in Cumberland.[32] It is a reasonable conclusion therefore that the Melmor and Merchiōn who gave their names to Mammerton and Mercaston respectively came from the north-west of England, and accompanied the Viking settlers in Derbyshire in the same way as did men of Norwegian descent who had come to England via Ireland and those who came direct from Norway and whose presence is probably attested by such names as Normanton.[33]

It may be suggested with confidence that these four place-names, found within a small area in Derbyshire, comprise a small but very significant group showing clearly settlement by men of Irish or Irish-Norwegian and British descent who had come originally from the north-west of England. It should be noted that no such groups have been found in the neighbouring and more heavily Scandinavianised counties of Nottinghamshire and Leicestershire. These settlers it is true are not necessarily to be associated with those who settled in the county in the years immediately following 877, but they can be placed with some certainty at an only slighter later date.

Here too should be mentioned a group of three Normantons in Derbyshire,

Normanton,[34] *Normanestune* 1086 DB, *Normantun(e)*, *-ton(e)* 1086 DB, 1157 Darley, c. 1166 *AddCh* (p), 1202 P;

South Normanton, *Normentune* 1086 DB, *Normanton(e)* 1212 RBE, 1243 Fees;

Temple Normanton, *Normantune* 1086 DB, 1185 Templars.

The name means "farmstead of the Norwegian(s)," from late OE **Norðman**, "a Norwegian" and OE **tūn**. The Norwegians in question are likely to have accompanied the Danes in the conquest of the Danelaw, but whether they came direct from Norway or joined the latter from other parts of the north of England cannot be determined with certainty. Such names could, it may be presumed, only come into use in Scandinavian areas where Norwegians were an unusual feature of the population. The three Normantons all occur in close proximity to names in *-by*.

The most important names in Derbyshire, which belong to the third group of Scandinavian names, those which cannot be assigned to a given date with any certainty, are a series in which ODan **þorp**, "a secondary settlement, a

[31] For other examples of the use of this personal name in place-names see Melmerby (PN Cu 223–4) and Melmerby (PN NRY 255).

[32] For other examples of the use of this personal name in place-names see Maughonby and Pow Maughan (PN Cu 194 and 24).

[33] See p. 93.

[34] Now in the county borough of Derby.

dependent outlying farmstead or hamlet" appears either as a simplex place-name or as a final element with a Scandinavian personal name as first. They are:

Thorpe, *Torp* 1086 DB,
Thorp (Outseats), *Le Thorpe* 1607 *MinAcct*,
Thorpe Ho (Brampton), *Thorpe in Brampton* 1301 Cox iii (p),
and *Algarthorpe* (Brampton), *Algarthorp* 1303 FF, *Algerthorp* Ed 1 *AddCh* (p), from ODan *Alger*;
Bagthorpe (Brampton), *Bagthorp* 1330 Selden (p), 1405 *WollCh*, from OScand *Baggi*;
Boythorpe (Chesterfield), *Buitorp* 1086 DB, *Boitorp* 1185 Templars (p), 1185 P (p), from ODan *Boie*;
Hackenthorpe (Beighton), *Hakintorp* 1200–18 (15th) YCh, *Hacentorp*, *Hacuntorp* late 13th Hall iii (p), from ON *Hákon*, ODan *Hakun*, *-on*;
Harlesthorpe (Clowne), *Tharlestropp* 13th Hall iii, *Tharlesthorp* 1319 RadCh, from ON *Þóraldr*;
Hornthorpe (Eckington), *Hornethorpe* 1570 *ExchKR*, from ON, OSwed *Horni*;
Ingmanthorpe (Brampton), *Yngmonthorp* late 13th *Portland* (p), *Ingemanthorpe* 1311 *HardCh* (p), from ON *Ingimundr*, ODan *Ingimund*;
Oakerthorpe (South Wingfield), *Ulkerthorp* 1162–82, 1175 Darley, from ON *Úlfkell*, ODan *Ulkel*[35];
Oakthorpe (now in Leicestershire), *Achetorp* 1086 DB, *Okethorpe* 1269 *Ass*, from ODan *Áki*;
and Wilsthorpe, *Wiuelestorp* 1169, 1176 P, *Wivelestorp'* 1220 Cur, from OScand *Vífill*.

The most significant feature of the distribution of the names in this group is that ten of the thirteen are situated in Scarsdale hundred.

There are a further sixteen examples of the element **þorp** in Derbyshire place-names in which the first element is either a Continental-Germanic personal name, a family name, or a significant word of English origin. Many are probably of post-Conquest formation. In the early forms of some, the name is preceded by a village or parish name indicating clearly the secondary nature of the settlement. Again fourteen of the sixteen are situated in Scarsdale hundred.

The most important of the other distinctively Scandinavian place-names in the county is that of one of the hundreds,

Scarsdale, *Scarvesdale* 1086 DB, *Scaluesdale* 1130 P, *Scarewesdala* 1179 ib, *Scaruesedal'* Hy 2 *WollCh*, "Skarf's valley," from the ON personal name *Skarfr* and ON **dalr**.[36]

Other Scandinavian names include

Brackenfield, *Brachentheyt* (sic) 1269 Darley, *Brakentheyt* (sic) 1269 *BelCh*, *-thweyt* 1275 ib, "bracken clearing," from ON **brakni** and **þveit**;
Carnfield (South Normanton), *Carlyngthawyte* (sic) 1485 *FF*, *-twhat* 1493 *Woll*, "old woman's clearing," from ON **kerling** and **þveit**;

[35] On the interchange of *l* and *r* in dialects see IPN 106–7.
[36] Forms with *-l-* for *-r-* are due to AN sound-substitution.

Firbeck (Whitwell), *Thirbeck* 1325 Hall iii, *Tirbek* 1547 *MinAcct*, "dry stream," from ODan **thyr** and OScand **bekkr**[37];

Flagg, *Flagun* 1086 DB, *Flagge* 1230 Cl, c. 1230 *Dunst*, probably originally from the dative plural of ON **flag** "a turf, a sod," with a meaning "a place where turfs were cut";

Foremark, *Fornewerche* 1086 DB, *Fornewerc* 1228 StoweCh, *-werk'* 1243 Fees, "old fortification," from ON **forn** (adjective) and **verk**;

Griff Grange, *le Griff* 1260 *CPG*, *Grif* 1286 *WollCh*, "deep narrow valley," from ON **gryfja**;

Hardstoft (Ault Hucknall), *Hertestaf* (sic) 1086 DB, *Hertistoft* 1257 FF, "Hert's homestead," from the ON personal name *Hjǫrtr* and ODan **toft**[38];

Holme (Bakewell), *Holun* 1086 DB, *Hulm(e)* 1101–8 RegLich, 1202 P, *Holme* 1236 *BelCh*, "water-meadow," from ON **holmr**, ODan **hulm**;

Holme (Newbold and Dunston), *Holun* 1086 DB, *Hulum* 1201 Cur, *Hulme* 1258 FF, as for the preceding name[39];

Hoon, *Hougen* 1086 DB, *Howen(e)* 1275 RH, 1309 FF, from the dative plural of ON **haugr** "a barrow, a hill";

Lathkill, *Lathkell* 1308 *BelCh*, *Lattekel* 1330 *Ass*, *Lathekyll* 1526 *DuLa*, "narrow valley with a barn" from ON **hlaða** and **kíll**[40];

Loscoe, *Loftskou* 1281 *Ass*, *Loscowe* 1277 *Woll*, "wood with a loft(house)," from ON **lopt**, and **skógr**;

Loscoe (Repton), *Loftescot* (sic) c. 1162 DbCh, *Loftessco* c. 1227 DbAns vi, as for the preceding name;

Lound (now represented by Heath), *Lunt* 1086 DB, *Lund* 1246 FF, "grove, small wood," from ON **lúndr**;

Ramshaw (Unstone), *Rameshoue* Ed 1 *WollCh*, *Ramsawe* 1475 Rel xx, "Hrafn's or raven's hill," from the ON personal name *Hrafn*, ODan *Rawn*, or ON **hrafn** and **haugr**;

Rowland, *Ralunt* 1086 DB, *Raalund* 1101–8 RegLich, 1169 P, "roe-buck grove" or "boundary grove" from ON **rá** "a roebuck" or **rá** "a boundary" and **lúndr**;

Scrater (Scarcliffe), *Scrattehaghe* 1327 Pat, "goblin enclosure," from ON **skratti** and **hagi**;

Thurlowbooth (Crich), *Thurlokebotham* Hy 2 *BelCh*, *-bothe* Hy 2 Darley, "Thurlak's booth," from the ODan personal name *Thurlak* and ODan **bōth**;

and the lost stream-name *Griuel* John *BelCh*, comparable to the Norwegian name *Gryfla*.[41]

Again, a distinctive feature of the nineteen names in this list is that half are situated in the hundred of Scarsdale, which as has been noted is itself a Scandinavian compound.[42]

[37] The first element could formally be OE **þyrre** "dry."

[38] An alternative first element might be the OE unrecorded personal name **Heort*.

[39] It should be noted that in the early forms of both Holmes many more spellings in *Hulm(e)* are found than in *Holm(e)*.

[40] The name is clearly originally that of a place. The modern name is that of a river and all the early forms refer to the river.

[41] Now represented by Alfreton Brook.

[42] Other possible Scandinavian compounds include:

Cunning Dale (Fairfield), *Coningesdal* 1285 *For*, *Coningsdale* Hy 8 *DuLa*, perhaps "king's valley," from ON **kunung** and **dalr**, and

Ravensdale Park, *Rauenesdale* 1251 Ch, 1256 *WollCh*, perhaps "Hrafn's or raven's valley," cf. Ramshaw above for the first element. The second is either ON **dalr** or OE **dæl**.

The Scandinavian elements[43] which appear most frequently at an early date in minor names and field-names in Derbyshire are:

flat, flǫt "a piece of flat level ground," later commonly used with reference to "a larger division of the common field";
gata "a way, a path, a street";
holmr "an island, a water-meadow";
and **kjarr** "brushwood," in ME more often "a bog, a marsh, especially one overgrown with brushwood."

Others which occur less frequently but which are found in early sources (i.e. before about 1500) are:

banke ODan "a bank, a slope of a hill";
birki "a place overgrown with birch-trees, a birch copse, a birch-tree";
bondi "a peasant landowner," later perhaps in England used of "an unfree tenant";
bōth ODan "a booth, a temporary shelter";
***brakni** "bracken, fern";
brekka OWScand "a slope, a hill";
brink ODan "a brink, an edge of a bank";
dalr "a valley";
dammr "a dam," in ME "a dam, a bank across a stream to form a pond, a pond formed in this way";
eng "a meadow, a pasture";
gap "a gap, an opening, a chasm";
grein "a fork (of a river)," surviving in dialect as "a small valley forking off from another";
gryfja "a hole, a pit," in dialect used of "a small deep valley";
haugr "a hill, a burial mound";
hǫgg "a cutting, a felling of trees";
hryggr "a ridge";
***hvin** "whin, gorse";
intak "a piece of land taken in or enclosed";
kirkja "a church";
lúndr "a small wood, a grove";
lyng "ling, heather";
mýrr "a mire, a bog, swampy ground";
skógr "a wood";
slakki OWScand "a small shallow valley, a hollow in the ground";
slétta "a smooth, level field";
storð "a young wood, a plantation, land growing with brushwood";
þorp OEScand "a secondary settlement, a dependent outlying farmstead or hamlet";
þveit "a clearing, a meadow, a paddock";
þverr (adjective), **þvert** (neuter) "athwart, lying across";
toft ODan "a building site, a curtilage, a messuage";
vangr "a garden, an in-field";
and **vrá** "a nook, a corner of land."

[43] These elements are normally given in their ON forms, and for a discussion of each see EPN s.v. In the subsequent analysis summary reference only will be made to these elements and translations of the names quoted will not normally be given.

In addition a few are found only in later or modern forms:

***buskr** "a bush, a shrub";
garðr "an enclosure," in ME used of "an enclosure or small plot of ground, especially one near a house, used as a yard";
hlaða "a barn, a storehouse";
nabbi "a projecting peak, a knoll, a hill";
reinn "a boundary strip";
sker "a rock, a scar";
and **skúti** "a projecting cliff, an overhanging rock."

While some of these elements are found only occasionally in sources before 1500, many are extremely common in later and modern field-names. It is clear that in addition to those words which became a part of the English vocabulary, many in the lists above became common in the vocabulary of the Derbyshire dialect. It is as such that they appear widespread in the county as the sources of minor names and field-names. Such names cannot be looked upon as evidence of early Scandinavian settlement in the areas in which they are found, unless more significant Scandinavian names are present too. They are rather an indication that the inhabitants there included sufficient numbers of originally Scandinavian speaking peoples to enable Scandinavian words to be easily assimilated into the native vocabulary. They indicate certainly a considerable Scandinavian influence in most parts of the county.

When the evidence is examined as a whole it becomes clear that the areas where Scandinavian settlement was heaviest are in the hundred of Scarsdale and in that of Repton and Gresley. In spite of the group of names in **bȳ**, consisting of Bretby, Ingleby and Smisby in the latter, it will be seen that in actual fact the settlements were most intensive in parts of Scarsdale hundred.

The only hundred name which is Scandinavian in origin is Scarsdale. There is some evidence that Scarsdale was formerly the name of the valley of the R. Amber.[44] None the less, the heaviest settlement seems to have taken place in the area covered by the modern parishes of Scarcliffe, Shirebrook, Pleasley, Glapwell, Ault Hucknall and Heath, though all of the modern parish names themselves are English in origin. Here are situated Blingsby and Stainsby, Hardstoft, *Lound* and Scrater, as well as such hybrids as:

Astwith (Ault Hucknall), *Estweit* c. 1200 *Beau*, from OE **ēast** "east" and **þveit**;
Upper Langwith (Scarcliffe),[45] *Langewathe* 1208 FF, from OE **lang** / "long" and **vað** "ford";
and *Northops* (Ault Hucknall),[45] *Northorpe* 13th *Welbeck* from OE **norð** "north" and **þorp**.

Among the minor names Carr (**kjarr**) occurs three times, Griff (**gryfja**), Ling (**lyng**) and Gate (**gata**) once, with forms extant from the thirteenth to the fifteenth century, while Hagg (**hǫgg**) and Holme (**holmr**) appear in minor

[44] See O. S. Anderson, *The English Hundred-Names*, 1934, pp. 33–4.
[45] The first elements in Langwith and *Northops* could be the cognate ON words **langr** and **norð** respectively, but it would be impossible to distinguish between the forms of the English and Scandinavian words in ME spellings.

names for which only comparatively modern forms are found. Thirty ME field-names exist for this area which contain Scandinavian elements including a series in Wang, Wong (**vangr**), rare in other parts of the county, as for example, *Claiwang* Hy 3, *Derbyshire*, *Dalewange* 1209 FF, *Flodrewong* 1260 *Derbyshire* and *Holegatewonge* Hy 3 *Derbyshire*. The most important of the others in this group include:

Blihou 1214–33 Darley, OScand personal name *Blígr* and **haugr**;
le Breck c. 1330 *Derby*, **brekka**;
Breitweit 1214–33 Darley, ON **breiðr** "broad" and **þveit**;
Estthorpp 1538–44 ECP, OE **ēast** "east" and **þorp**;
le Houes 1308 *HardCh*, the plural of **haugr**;
Karimundesdale Hy 3 Darley, ON personal name *Kárimund* and **dalr**;
Kirkgate 1329 *HardCh*, **kirkja** and **gata**;
Lyngedale c. 1300 *Derby*, **lyng** and **dalr**;
Smethewayte 13th *HardCh*, OE **smēðe** "smooth" and **þveit**;
Snaidhinges 1209 FF, a derivative of ON **sneið** "a slice, etc," used in England of "a detached piece of land"[46];
Thyrnetwayt 14th *NewsteadR*, OE **þyrne** or ON **þyrnir** "a thornbush" and **þveit**;
Uggathorpe 1567 *FF*, ON personal name *Uggi* and **þorp**;
le Wro c. 1300 *Derby* (p), **vrá**;
and *Medelfeld* 1453 *HardCh*, ON adverb **meðal**, used in place-names with an adjectival function, "middle," and OE **feld** "open country, land for pasture or cultivation."

The evidence of this series of names suggests fairly intensive Scandinavian settlements in this area, but as the parish names and others show the English population had not been overwhelmed.

To the north of this area and to the east of the R. Doe Lea (*aquam de Dale* 1149–53, e. 13th Darley, perhaps from **dalr**) and the R. Rother the Scandinavian element is slighter, and only Firbeck and Harlesthorpe and minor names such as

The Birks, *Birkes* 1330 *Ass*, 1340 Inq aqd, from **birki**;
and Bondhay, *Bondhay* 1534 *Ct*, from **bondi** and OE (**ġe**)**hæg** "enclosure"

are noteworthy.[47] To these may be added an interesting series of *-thorpes* in the parish of Killamarsh:

Kirkthorpe, Kyrkethorpe 1556 *FF*, from **kirkja** and **þorp**;
Netherthorpe, *Netherthorpe* 13th Hall iii, from OE **neoðera** "lower" and **þorp**;
Upperthorpe, *Overthorpe* 1556 *FF*, from OE **uferra** "upper, higher" and **þorp**;
and Westthorpe, *West Thorpe* 1815 *Fairbank*, from OE **west** "western, west" and **þorp**;

though the field-names of this parish offer little more exciting evidence than a few names in *-flat*. Indeed, the field-names of this north-east corner of Derbyshire as a whole are disappointing, with only an occasional example of Griff,

[46] See EPN ii, 132–3 s.v. **sneið** and **sneiðing**.
[47] Firbeck, The Birks and Bondhay are all in the boundary parish of Whitwell.

Beck, Breck, perhaps half a dozen Wongs, and several Riggs, the last all in the parish of Barlborough.

To the south of Ault Hucknall and to the east of the R. Amber there is a similar picture of Scandinavian names. Only South Normanton, Carnfield, Oakerthorpe and the river-name *Griuel* are significant. In addition the hybrid name Shirland, *Sirelunt* 1086 DB, *Schirlund* 1226 FF, from OE **scīr** and **lúndr**, may well mean "the grove where the shire met." If so it would certainly indicate a place which was important at an early date. The minor-names of Pinxton near the boundary with Nottinghamshire show rather more Scandinavian influence with

Storthfield, cf. (*del*) *Storthes* Ed 1 *Beau* (p), from **storð**;
and Sleights, *the Sleights* 1616 *Brookhill*, from **slétta**.

In addition there are several examples of Carr and Holmes and single examples of Busks, Griff and Kirk. Elsewhere, while similar field-names are found occasionally, they are not for the most part significant. The most interesting are in fact *le Houwes* 1308 Ipm (Shirland) and Evershill (Morton), *Haverhill* 1726 *Kerry xv*, perhaps from ON **hafri** "oats" and OE **hyll** "hill."

In Chesterfield particular attention should be drawn to a group of street-names with a second element in **gata** "street." To the south of the borough the evidence is uneven and it is in the more easterly parishes of this group that most Scandinavian names are found. Here are Boythorpe, Hasland, Temple Normanton, Tupton and Williamthorpe, and while Boythorpe alone is a Scandinavian compound, three of the other hybrids, Hasland, Temple Normanton and Tupton are parish names. As well as the usual type, Carr, Holme, etc., the field-names include an occasional Wong, e.g. *Long Wong* 1630 *Plan* (Hasland), and Slack, rare in the eastern part of Derbyshire.

However to the west and north-west of Chesterfield, particularly in Brampton and in parts of Walton, there is a surprising increase in names either wholly or partly Scandinavian in origin. Here is the lost *Wingby*, and a series of *-thorpes*, *Algarthorpe*, Bagthorpe, Cutthorpe (the first element of which is derived from the name of a local family, *Cutt*), Ingmanthorpe and Thorpe Ho, all situated in a very small area in the parish of Brampton. Nearby in Newbold is Holme. To these may be added

Hagg (Brampton), cf. *Timberhagge* Ed 1 *HarlCh*, from **hǫgg**;
and Slack (Brampton), *the Slacke* 1663 *ShefBM*, from **slakki**.

Noteworthy among the field-names are

the Hagg 1651 *ShefBM*, from **hǫgg**;
le Storthes 1332 *HardCh*, from **storð**;
the Tofts 1600 Cal, from **topt**;
and *Blakemonholmis* 1308 *HardCh*, from the OE personal name *Blæcmann* and **holmr**;

as well as many examples of Carr, Flat, Holme, etc., which are found only in later forms. Here the evidence points clearly to some very early Scandinavian settlement, with considerable influence in later periods, making possible such

names as Cutthorpe and the nearby Cutholme (named from the same family as Cutthorpe), Picker Storth (*Pigotstort'* 1245–50 RegAnt, *-storth* Ed 1 *AddCh*, from a post-Conquest personal name *Pigot* and **storð**) and such later hybrid field-names as *Helwyntoft* 1328 Cl and *le Touneker* 1344 *HardCh*. Clearly there must have been considerable Scandinavian influence in this area where **þorp** remained so long a significant place-name forming element. The evidence presupposes a population containing a very important admixture of Scandinavian speakers.

In the area of Scarsdale hundred north of Chesterfield as far as the boundary with the West Riding of Yorkshire in the general neighbourhood of Sheffield there is a series of *-thorpes* scattered from the parish of Holmesfield in the west to that of Beighton in the east. Here are Hackenthorpe and Hornthorpe and

Jordanthorpe (Norton), *Jurdanthorpe* a. 1290 Hall iii, from a personal name ultimately OF *Jourdain* and **þorp**;
Millthorpe (Holmesfield), *Mylnthorpe* 1494 DbA xx, from OE **myln** "mill" and **þorp**;
Waterthorpe (Beighton), *Waltertorp* 1276 DKR, *-thorp* 1305 Ipm, from the Continental-Germanic personal name *Walther* and **þorp**;
and Woodthorpe (Holmesfield), *Vodethorp* c. 1280 DbA iii (p), *Wodethorpp* 1316 *WollCh*, from OE **wudu** "wood" and **þorp**.

The Scandinavian compound Ramshaw is supported by such names as

Birks (Holmesfield), *Birks* 1545 *HardCh*, from **birki**;
Storth (Holmesfield), *le Stord*, *Storth* c. 1280 DbA iii, from **storð**;
Ravencarr (Eckington), *Raven Carre* 1570 *ExchKR*, probably from ON **hrafn** "raven" and **kjarr**;
Breck (Staveley), cf. *High Brecks* 1548 *AddCh*, from **brekka**;
and The Hagge (Staveley), *the Hagge* 1634 *AddCh*, from **hǫgg**.

The last two names are in that part of Staveley adjacent to Eckington. In the whole of this area several examples of most of the commoner Scandinavian elements occur in field-names. Particularly noteworthy are a series of Storths in eight adjacent parishes, the most interesting of which is *Rankill Storthe* 1561 *Portland*, from the ON personal name *Hrafnkell* and **storð**, a name which still survives as Rankhill Storth (Totley); several Tofts, including *le Toftis* 1308 *HardCh*, surviving as Tofts (Whittington), and *Toftstede* 1572 DbA xx, from **toft** and OE **stede** "a place, a site"; and Snaithing, a modern field-name in Norton. Only one other example of this rare name has been noted in Derbyshire.

Perhaps the most interesting evidence of Scandinavian influence in this north-eastern part of Derbyshire is from the extensive boundary parish of Eckington. A place-name, surviving as The Pingle, is described as *the Pingle lying in the Byerlawe of Mosbrough* 1661 *ShefWC*. *Byrelaw* is derived from ON **býar-lǫg** "a village community," and was used in the north in ME of "the local law of a township, established by mutual consent to deal with minor disputes," and so of "a small administrative district, a township." This term is particularly common in the West Riding of Yorkshire and occurs as an affix to two place-

names now in Sheffield, Brightside Bierlow and Ecclesall Bierlow. No earlier reference has been noted for its use in Derbyshire and its appearance only in a parish adjacent to Sheffield suggests that it was borrowed from the West Riding.

It may be noted that the major names of the parish of Eckington are English in origin, with the exception of the Scandinavian compound Hornthorpe. None the less the Scandinavian element in the field-names of this parish,though only a relatively small proportion of the whole, includes numerous examples of Flatt, Carr and Holme as well as occasional examples of Breck, Gate, Hagg, Intake, Kirk, Mire, Storth and Wroe, and even of Slack,[48] which appears as *Badslacke* 1684 *ShefMD*, a name which still survives. Again, the evidence for Eckington and for the whole of this northern part of Scarsdale hundred suggests a general extension of settlement and influence, sufficient to superimpose a considerable Scandinavian element in the local dialect. There is no evidence here from local nomenclature of very early Scandinavian settlement.

Finally in the extreme south-west of this hundred to the west of the R. Amber only Brackenfield, a parish name, is a Scandinavian compound. In this parish too are Carr Fm (*le Ker* Hy 3 Darley, from **kjarr**) and field-names Breck, Busk, Flatt, Gap, Griff, Hagg, Intake and Whinny. Elsewhere in this area the Scandinavian element in the minor names and field-names is slight, and though several examples of Flat occur in early sources none has a Scandinavian word as first part. Toft occurs once at an early date in *Aylmarestoft* c. 1250 *BelCh*, from the OE personal name *Æðelmær* and **topt**. The only other significant names are Slack (*Slack* 1693 *Derby*, from **slakki**) and the field-name Skerry, both in the parish of Ashover. It is quite clear that, except around Brackenfield, Scandinavian settlement and influence was much slighter here than elsewhere in Scarsdale hundred.

To the south in the northern part of the hundred of Morleyston and Litchurch the Scandinavian element in place-names is disappointingly slight. Of the parish names only Loscoe[49] and Denby are Scandinavian in origin, and the area around, as the name Denby suggests, must have been thickly settled by Anglians before the arrival of the Danes. Even in the parishes along the Nottinghamshire boundary few Scandinavian names occur and Loscoe is the only certain Scandinavian compound. Near to Loscoe is Aldercarr (*Allerker* 1335 Ipm, from OE **alor** "alder" and **kjarr**). One distinctive meaning of *carr* in the Derbyshire dialect is "a plantation of alders in a low or flat situation," and the place-name Aldercarr has been noted several times in the county.

The only other possible Scandinavian compound in this area is

> Boyah (Dale Abbey), *Boyhag(e)* 1200, c. 1210 *Dale*, perhaps from the ODan personal name *Boie* and ON **hagi** "an enclosure."

[48] On Slack see pp. 110–11.
[49] This is a joint parish, Codnor and Loscoe.

In addition Kirk, from **kirkja**, has been prefixed in Kirk Hallam and is found early, in *Kirkehallam* Hy 2 CartAnt. Only occasional forms in *Chirch(e)-*, from OE **cirice**, occur by the side of the Scandinavian word in references for this place.

It should be noted that few early field lists are extant for this part of Derbyshire, so that lack of material may have affected the picture to a certain extent. Of the early field-names the most interesting are

> *Grenesweit* c. 1160 *Rufford*, from OE **grēne** "green" and **þveit**;
> *Ingeltweit* c. 1240 Darley, from the ON personal name *Ingólfr*, ODan *Ingulf* and **þveit**;

and a series of Carrs,

> *Blakeker* 1239 *Dale*, *Brodeker* Hy 3 ib, *Berneker* 1260 ib, *Cinderhulker* Hy 3 ib, *Kerbrigge* Hy 3 ib, *le Kerres* Hy 3 ib,

all in the parish of Kirk Hallam. Among later field-names most of the common Scandinavian words occur, including three examples of Slack, but they form a very small proportion of the total field-names of the district. It would seem therefore that the impression given by the place-name Denby is indeed correct. It is only in the parish of Kirk Hallam near the Nottinghamshire boundary that real evidence is provided by field-names for Scandinavian influence of any significance.

In Derby and the parishes adjacent to the county town few Scandinavian place-names occur, apart from Derby itself. The castle in Derby, however, is an interesting hybrid name appearing in the earliest forms as *Copecastel* 1085 Dugd, c. 1236, c. 1250 Darley. This is presumably "market castle" from ON **kaup** "a bargain," later "a market" and late OE **castel(l)** "a castle," which suggests that the market in Derby was of an earlier date than the castle. This name provides evidence of the economic development of Derby itself in the two centuries following the Danish settlements, for Sir Frank Stenton notes that "the general impression left by the Domesday account of Derby is that of a group of traders superimposed upon an economic organization of the land such as was common to the whole of the county."[50] The importance of the Danes in this respect is suggested by the use of a word of Scandinavian origin for the market itself.

Other evidence of Scandinavian settlement in the place-names of the borough survives only in The Holmes (*Holm* 1236 Ch, *Holmes* 1540 DbAns viii), from **holmr**, the name of a prominent island in the R. Derwent,[51] in several street-names with a second element derived from **gata**, and in a few field-names. Very close to Derby however was a settlement of Norwegians at Normanton.

The pattern of the field-names of Derby is typical of that of all the surrounding parishes, particularly those to the east of the town. There is a striking number of Flats recorded in early sources, twelve in Derby, eight in Chaddesden[52] and

[50] *Victoria County History of Derbyshire*, vol. i, p. 309.
[51] The later and modern forms are in the plural but there is only one large island here.
[52] Chaddesden is actually in Appletree hundred, but geographically it must be considered here.

Darley Abbey, eight in Alvaston, eight in Elvaston, etc. Apart from these, the most interesting is a group of Holmes in most parishes; and

Hascowe 1331 *Derby*, perhaps from ON **há(r)** "high" and **skógr**;
Lound 1343 DbA xvi, from **lúndr**;
Ravenhow Hy 4 *AD*, from **hrafn** "raven" and **haugr**;
and *Schotenge* 1262 Darley, the first element of which is doubtful but the second is **eng**, the only certain example of this element in the area.

Two interesting examples of the interchange of **kirkja** and **cirice** have been noted in the field-names here. Church Field (Markeaton) appears as *Kyrkefeld* 1299 Darley, 1474 *Derby* and then as *Church feild* 1630, 1663 *Derby*. Church Leys (Elvaston) is recorded both as *Kirkeleas* and *Church leas* 1622 *Dep*. Similar interchange of these two elements has been noted occasionally elsewhere.

The remainder of the hundred of Morleyston and Litchurch may be divided into two parts. In the first in the west between the R. Derwent, the R. Trent and the R. Erewash the Scandinavian element is almost confined to two parishes close to the boundary with Nottinghamshire. Here close together near Long Eaton are Wilsthorpe and the lost *Westhorpe* (*Westorp* 1188, 1194 P (p), from OE **west** "western, west" and **þorp**). In the same parish are several field-names in Flatt, a modern Cringle, from ON **kringla** "a circle," and *Storth* 1305 *Extent*, from **storð**. In the field-names of the nearby parish of Sandiacre, in which no important place-names are of Scandinavian origin, there are a similar series of Flats, several Holmes all recorded early, and

Adestoftes 13th *Dale*, from the ME personal name *Ade* (*Adam*) and **topt**;
Driskowe 13th *Dale*, from OE **drȳge** "dry" and **skógr**;
Estofte 14th Darley, from OE **ēast** "eastern, east" and **topt**;
and *le Wroe* 1312 Inq aqd, from **vrá**.

In the parishes along the R. Trent as far as the confluence with the R. Derwent there are no Scandinavian compound place-names and only two hybrids in **tūn**, Stenson and Swarkeston.[53] The minor names and field-names however include a large number of Flats and Holmes, many recorded in early sources. Scarcely any other place-name element of Scandinavian origin is found, the only one occurring early is **topt** in *Toftbuttes* 13th *EveryCh*. The occurrence of so many Flats and Holmes in this part of Derbyshire is no doubt to be explained in part on topographical grounds. This is low-lying land in the valley of the R. Trent, much liable to floods, and flooding was no doubt even more serious in mediaeval times.

The impression given by place-names is of little early Scandinavian settlement in the southern part of this hundred. It is an area where Anglian settlement must have been heavy as the major names suggest and in spite of its proximity to the military centre of Scandinavian Derbyshire, comparatively little early Scandinavian settlement seems to have taken place. The only Scandinavian place-name elements which appear frequently are **flat** and **holmr**.

[53] Swarkeston is actually in the hundred of Repton and Gresley, but it must be considered geographically with the neighbouring parishes, themselves in the hundred of Morleyston and Litchurch.

Though they are fairly common they suggest that the influence was rather general than due to heavy settlement.

South of the R. Trent the hundred now called Repton and Gresley appears as *Walecros Wap'* 1086 DB. This is either "Welshmen's or serfs' cross" from the genitive pural **wala** of OE (Angl) **walh** and **cros**, or "Váli's cross," from the ON personal name *Váli* and **cros**. Late OE **cros** is a loan word from ON **kross**, itself borrowed from OIr **cros**, and the appearance of this word in south Derbyshire at so early a date is probably to be associated with the Irish-Norwegian element in the local place-names, of which Bretby also in this hundred is a likely example.[54] As will be seen, there must have been considerable early Scandinavian settlement here, so that a Scandinavian origin for *Walecros* is certainly possible, although the alternative etymology suggested is, formally at least, equally possible.

In the northern half of Repton and Gresley hundred are the three names in **bȳ**, Bretby, Ingleby and Smisby noted previously.[55] The impression of fairly intensive Scandinavian settlement which these names suggest is only partially substantiated by other place-name evidence. Other Scandinavian compounds here are Foremark and Loscoe (Repton). Of these five place-names all but Loscoe are modern parish names.

A few hybrid names are found, including

Bondwood (Repton), *Bondewode* 1333 *Segrave*, from **bondi** and OE **wudu** "a wood";

Car Brook (Repton), *Karebrok* 1393 *DuLa*, *Kerebroke* 1482 ib, from **kjarr** and OE **brōc** "a brook";

Swadlincote, *Sivardingescotes* 1086 DB, *Suartlincot* 1208 FF, *Swartlingcote* e. 13th Burton, from an ON personal name **Svartlingr* and OE **cot** "a cottage";

while Milton (Repton), *Middeltune* 1086 DB, from OE **middel** "middle" and **tūn**, has later forms such as *Meelton* c. 1162 DbCh, *Melton(e)* c. 1227 DbAns vi, 1228 StoweCh, which seem to suggest that OE **middel** has been replaced by the cognate ON **meðal**.

Supporting evidence from field-names is by no means so strong as might have been expected, and in fact Flats and Holmes again provide most of the names of Scandinavian origin noted here. A few other interesting names occur:

Eykelond 1333 *Segrave*, from ON **eik** "an oak-tree" and OE **land** "land, etc.";

Geilberga c. 1162 DbAns vi, from ON **geil** "a narrow ravine, a way" and ON **berg** "a hill";

Swytheland 1393 *DuLa*, from ON **sviða** "burning" and OE **land**;

Wyngeholm 1381 *EveryCh*, perhaps from **vengi** "a field" and **holmr**;

and *Ynkelgeyl* 1328 DbAns vi, from the ON personal name *Ingólfr*, *Ingulf* and ON **geil**.

It should be noted that ON **geil** is not recorded elsewhere in early material in Derbyshire. Occasionally personal names of Scandinavian origin appear as

[54] See pp. 89–90.
[55] See p. 89.

first element in hybrid minor names as for example *Hrafnhild* in *Ravenildesweye* 1292 Burton and **Svartlingr* in *Swathlinghay* Hy 3 Repton. Otherwise such personal names are not a noticeable feature of the area. Finally among field-names for which late forms have been found only Scarrs from **sker** and Slack from **slakki** are particularly interesting.

In the south-west of the hundred nearest to Staffordshire one important hybrid name is found:

> Croxall,[56] *Crokeshall'* 942 (13th) *Peniarth, Crocheshalle* 1086 DB, *Croxhale* c. 1200 DbCh, 1208 FF, "Crōc's corner of land, water-meadow," from the ON personal name *Krókr* and the dative singular **hale** of OE (Angl) **halh**.

This name is recorded at a very early date and shows as clearly as could be wished the speed at which fusion of the new Scandinavian settlers and the native Anglians took place. The minor names here follow the familiar pattern and few exceptional names have been noted. Perhaps most important of these is *Thrall heath* 1661 *Survey*, from ON **þræll** "a thrall, a serf, a slave" and OE **hǣð** "a heath." The first element of this name was quickly adopted by the English and appears in late OE texts, but no other example of it has been noted in the field-names of the county.

Along the boundary with Leicestershire and in the Derbyshire parishes which formed islands inside Leicestershire itself[57] are the hybrid names Ravenstone and Donisthorpe (*Durandestorp* 1086 DB, 1243 Fees, "Durand's outlying farmstead"). The latter is probably a place-name of post-Conquest formation since the first element is the continental personal name *Durand*. The relationship of these hybrid place-names with others of a similar type in Leicestershire has been discussed in some detail by Wainwright.[58] The whole group lies between two groups of names in **bȳ** and from this it may be deduced that there were two main areas dominated by Danes, between which was an area which they had been unable to dominate completely but in which their influence was felt to a considerable extent.

Indeed in the hundred of Repton and Gresley place-name evidence suggests that fairly intensive early Danish settlement had taken place. At the same time the large number of both parish and farmstead names which are English in origin equally suggests a considerable Anglian settlement there before the Danes appeared. Though the latter were able to dominate several parts of Derbyshire south of the R. Trent, and indeed though they no doubt dominated it all from time to time in a military sense, they certainly did not overwhelm the native population. Furthermore, there is ample evidence from place-names alone that the fusion between the two races was early and fairly complete. Variant Domesday spellings like *Appelby* and *Apleberie* for Appleby, indicating forms derived from **bȳ** and **byrig**, the dative singular of OE **burh**, and *Ravenestun*

[56] Together with Edingale, Stapenhill and Winshill, Croxall has been transferred to Staffordshire.

[57] They are now all in Leicestershire.

[58] See Wainwright, pp. 104–5 and 107–8.

and *Ravenestorp* for Ravenstone, from **tūn** and **þorp** respectively, could only occur, it would seem, where considerable fusion had taken place. Where two such forms appear side by side the eventual victory of one over the other must often have been a matter of chance.

It is equally clear from the place-name evidence presented above that south Derbyshire must have been on the western edge of early Danish settlement, what Wainwright has called "in a real sense an outpost on the frontier of Danish territory."[59] It is generally agreed that the early Danish settlement was a military one.[60] It is impossible to say with certainty which areas were controlled by the army with its headquarters at Derby and which by that with its headquarters at Leicester. That there were doubts as to which county certain villages belonged seems clear, since some places in this area were surveyed both in Leicestershire and in Derbyshire in Domesday Book. That Danish settlement had reached its western limits along the R. Trent in south Derbyshire seems a reasonable deduction, but the line of demarcation between the southern limits of the army at Derby and the westward limits of that at Leicester is a problem which cannot be determined with certainty. The group of hybrids between the two groups of **bȳ**-s may suggest the answer, but the Domesday Survey makes it clear that within two hundred years doubts existed.

In the hundred of Appletree there is only one name in **bȳ**, the lost *Herdebi* situated in the extreme east beyond the R. Derwent near its boundary with the hundred of Morleyston and Litchurch. Indeed names wholly Scandinavian in origin are rare and there is only one certain example Hoon, a parish name.[61] In this hundred however are the majority of the hybrid place-names consisting of a Scandinavian personal name and OE **tūn**, together with Mammerton and Mercaston and one of the two Iretons.[62] This is the most striking feature of the Scandinavian element in the place-names of this district, and the list of hybrid names can be further extended to include several which contain a Scandinavian personal name as first element with a significant OE word as second, as in

Halfcroft (Marston on Dove), *Apecrofte* 1317 *AddCh*, *Apcrofte* 1552 *Portland*, 1617 *Hard*, *Apecroft* 1836 O, from the ON personal name *Api* and OE **croft**;

Moodersley (Kedleston), *Motherlees* 1630 *Plan*, *-leyes* 1655 *Portland*, perhaps from the ODan personal name *Mōthir* and OE **læs** "a pasture";

Thurmansley, now Nuns Clough (Trusley), *Thurmodesl'* c. 1180 Darley, *Thormondeslee*, *Turmundel'* John *WollCh*, from the ODan personal name *Þormund* and OE **lēah** "a clearing";

[59] See Wainwright, p. 114.
[60] See p. 113.
[61] A further possible example is Ravensdale, see p. 95, footnote 1.
[62] This example Ireton Fm is in the parish of Weston Underwood and is actually included in the hundred of Morleyston and Litchurch, but geographically it should be considered here.

and Swainsley (Milford), *Sweynesley* 1357 *DuLa*, *Swaynesleye* 1389, ib, from the OScand personal name *Sveinn* and OE **lēah** "a clearing."

Other examples have a significant Scandinavian word as first element and a significant OE word as second, as in

Becksitch (Belper), *Beksiche* 1389, 1409 *DuLa*, *Bexsiche* 1415 *DuLaMB*, a tautological compound of ON **bekkr** "a stream" and OE **sīc** "a little stream";

Bondland (Heage), *Bonde Land* 1555 Lanc, *Bondland* 1596 *DuLa*, from ON **bondi** and OE **land** "land";

and Booth Hay (Yeaveley), *Bothaye* 1330 *Ass*, *Bothehey* 1559 *FF*, from ODan **bōth** "a booth" and OE **(ġe)hæġ** "an enclosure."

Apart from in the extreme eastern part there is clearly little sign of early Scandinavian settlement in Appletree hundred, and, as has been suggested earlier, it is likely that the Danes here took over established villages. The evidence of the groups of names above supports a theory of later extension of settlements with OE words **(ġe)hæġ** and OE **lēah** meaning "enclosure" and "clearing" respectively appearing as second elements of hybrids.

The strength of Scandinavian influence is suggested too by the forms of Church Broughton and Somersal Herbert, formerly also Church Somersal. In the former, there are very few spellings derived from OE **cirice**, though they appear at an ealier date (1327), while those derived from ON **kirkja** are common from 1383 till the end of the sixteenth century. In the few forms for Somersal Herbert, which have a prefixed **cirice** or **kirkja,** on the other hand the English word is twice as numerous as the Scandinavian and appears much earlier, though the latter was apparently retained till the mid-seventeenth century, some two hundred years later than the latest noted English form.

The field-names again show a remarkably large number of Carrs, Flatts and Holmes, a great many of which are recorded in ME documents. Intake is also very common though not a single example has been found before the sixteenth century. One such name Hulland Ward Intakes in the old Duffield Frith, a hunting forest, has actually become the name of a parish. Other Scandinavian words occur with much less frequency. There are five examples of Rein which appears only rarely in Derbyshire, the earliest being *Reynlond* 1365 RadCh; several of Slack though none is recorded before the seventeenth century; single early examples of both Grain and Ing; and occasional examples of Breck, Griff, Hagg and Scout. Perhaps the most significant name however is *Careshowe* 1415 *DuLaMB*, in Windley, which appears to be "Kárr's mound," from the OScand personal-name *Kárr* and **haugr**. If this is so then there is evidence of settlement in this area dating back to pagan Scandinavian times. But Scandinavian compound field-names are rare and only *Hauerholm* 13th *Dale*, from **hafri** and **holmr**, and *Staynbek* 1330 *Ass*, from **steinn** and **bekkr** have been noted. One further example from field-name material may be quoted. Church Bridge, a surviving name in Mercaston, appears as *Kyrchebruge* 1252 RadCh, *Kirkbridge* 1662 *Survey*, where the first element of the earlier form appears to be a partial Anglicization of **kirkja**, the later being from that word,

while the English form from **cirice** has replaced the Scandinavian word in the modern spelling. The influence of Scandinavian on English in the area is impressively represented in the early forms of this name. Indeed the evidence of place-names and field-names as a whole testifies to a considerable and fairly early Scandinavian settlement in the area and to a considerable Scandinavian element in the local vocabulary.

To the north in the hundred of Wirksworth there is only a single significant habitative Scandinavian name, Thorpe, situated close to the R. Dove, the boundary between Derbyshire and Staffordshire. In the southern part of the hundred is Kirk Ireton, a name indicative of Irish-Norwegian influence and one to which **kirkja** has been prefixed. Forms in *Kirk(e)*-, etc., are common from 1370 onwards, while *Church* appears rarely as a variant and then only in the sixteenth century. Nearby is Stainsbro' (*Stayn(e)sburgh* 1415 *DuLaMB*, 1420 *CPG*, from the OScand personal-name *Steinn* and OE **burh** "a fortified place"). A little to the north is Griffe Grange,[63] the name of a joint parish. An alternative name for this was Bret-Griffe (*le Brettegrifth* 1257 *CPG*, *Bretgrif* late 13th ib, *-gryf* 1317 ib). The first element is probably the genitive plural **Bretta** of OE **Brettas**, or the genitive plural **Breta** of ON **Bretar** "a Briton." This is almost certainly comparable with Bretby[64] and if so is further evidence of the presence in Derbyshire of men of British descent who travelled with the Scandinavian settlers.

Further evidence of Scandinavian influence in this hundred is found in the hybrid name of the largest stream, Scow Brook (*Sculebroc* 1226 FF, *Scolebroke* 1245 ib, *-brok'* 1276 RH, 1280 *Ass*, Ed 1 *WollCh*, *Scalebrok* 1275 RH, probably "brook in a hollow" from ON **skál** and OE **brōc**). The lower reaches of this stream are now called Henmore Brook, but it was earlier *aq' de Esseb'* 1275 RH, *acque de Esseb'ne* 1276 ib, "brook by which ash-trees grew" from OE **æsc** and **burna**, and it gave its name to the town of Ashbourne. Almost all the remaining ME forms for the stream, however, from **askr** and **bekkr**, are purely Scandinavian in origin, *Askebek'*, *-bec* c. 1200, Hy 3 *Kniveton*, 1286 DbCh, with two hybrid spellings *Assebecke* 1306 DbCh, *Ashbecke* 1368 *WollCh*, from **æsc** and **bekkr**. It should be noted that this is in direct contrast to the forms for Ashbourne, where hardly a single Scandinavian or even Scandinavianised form occurs. Moreover, very few stream-names in Derbyshire are of Scandinavian origin, and no parallel to the early forms for Henmore Brook is evidenced elsewhere. It would seem a reasonable deduction that Scandinavian influence must have been strongly felt here where a Scandinavian name apparently replaced an English one, for after the thirteenth century the stream itself is nowhere noted as *Ash Burn*.

Among the few early street-names of Ashbourne the modern Church Street appears as *le Kyrkestrete* 1349, 1391 RadCh, then *Cryche Street* 1433 ib, *Church Street* 1676 *Bemrose*. Here the Scandinavian **kirkja** has been replaced by

[63] See p. 95.
[64] See pp. 89–90.

cirice. In one other the second element **gata**, has been replaced by **strǣt**, *Bruggegate* 1350 DbA xxxii which is *le Bruge-strete* 1378 DbCh.

The commonest Scandinavian field-names in this hundred are Carr, Flat and Holme. In addition Kirk appears more frequently than to the south. The compound Kirkway has been noted three times in early forms as in *le Kyrkeweye* Hy 3 *Kniveton*, Kirkstyle twice as in *le Kyrkstyule* Ed I *Crich*, and three examples of Kirk, recorded early, occur in the parish of Wirksworth. Booth (Hartington Upper Quarter), the name of a farmstead, is well-evidenced in early records from *le Bothe* 1330 *Ass* onwards, and three examples of this word are found close together around Wirksworth, one of which *les Bothes* 1428 *BelCh* is represented today by Booth Close. In this hundred too is recorded the earliest example of Intake in the whole county, *le Intake* 1415 *DuLaMB* in Matlock, and later this name is very common. Occasional examples of Beck, *le Wytebeck* 1599 Lanc, Dales from the plural of ON **deill**, *Fordales* 1608 *Star-Chamb*, Ing, *the House Ing* 1686 *Portland*, and Nab, *Kernabbe* 1327 RadCh, are found, as well as of Garth, Storth and Scar for which only late forms survive. Most significant of all however are examples of words found only in OWScand and which therefore must be evidence of Norwegian rather than Danish influence. Breck for example is found in the modern field-names of several different parishes, but Slack appears remarkably frequently and examples date from the thirteenth century, never however in a Scandinavian compound. The earliest is *Gretegreueslake* Hy 3 *Kniveton*, then *Wythenslacke* 1339 *BelCh*. All the examples come from the areas around Hartington and Wirksworth. The more frequent occurrence of Slack here as compared with further south may be partly explained on topographical grounds, but there must have been sufficient influence from settlers of Norwegian descent to make it possible for the word to become a part of the living vocabulary. The evidence of other place-names suggests that these settlers came rather from the north-west of England than direct from Norway. The lack of such evidence in field-names in the hundred of Appletree can be explained on topographical grounds, for Wirksworth hundred is hilly and therefore there are more topographical features which could be called "slacks."

In the parishes in High Peak hundred south of the Wye and west of the R. Derwent, Flagg and Holme (Bakewell) alone are Scandinavian names. In Bakewell too are the hybrids

> Acre Wall, *Alkede-*, *Alketwell'* Hy 3 *BelCh*, *Arkelwalle* Ed 1 ib, from the ON personal name *Arnketell* and **wælla** "a spring";
> and Elliottholme, *Ailwardes-*, *Aylwarde-*, *Ailwordeholm* 1243 RegLich, *Aylwardholm* 1286, c. 1290 *BelCh*, from the OE personal name *Ailward* and **holmr**;

while the first element of the lost *Heathen's Low* (*Hethineslawe-*, *-lowe-*, *-flat* 1226 RegLich, *le Hethine Lawe* 1282 *BelCh*) may be the OScand personal name *Heðinn*. Indeed in the parish of Bakewell, several examples of Carr, Flatt, Gate and Holme occur, many recorded early, occasional ones of Ing and Whin and also

Bakewell nabbys 1537 *Bateman* (**nabbi**), *le Myre* 1330 *Ass* (**mýrr**), *Stainclowe* 1577 (**steinn**), and *le Wither* c. 1290 *BelCh*, *le Wytheres* 1340 ib (**víðir** "a willow").

In this part of the hundred the most distinctive feature of the field-names is the comparatively large number of Slacks, which appear in five different parishes. Though some occur only in modern forms others are recorded early as for example *Doggesedslacke* 1323 *HarlCh* and *Hethe low slak* 1544 *CPG* both in Monyash, while at least three, in Flagg, Sheldon and Taddington, are first recorded in the seventeenth century.

The commoner Scandinavian place-name elements are not found in such numbers as elsewhere though Carr, Flatt, Holme and Kirk occur. The only Scandinavian compound found among these is *Sywardholme* 1547 *MinAcct* from the ODan personal name *Sigwarth* and **holmr**.

Only a small part of this hundred extends beyond the R. Derwent, but here is the only habitative place-name of Scandinavian origin in the whole of the Peak. This is Thorp (Outseats). Nearby is Hathersage Booths (*Boothes* 1631 ParReg), one of a number of examples of this element in the north-west of Derbyshire.[65] In this area minor names and field-names in Carr, Gate and Holme are found in fair numbers, as well as one example of Ing in Froggatt and occasionally Nab, Lathe and Storth. Breck occurs in three parishes. The most interesting minor names are the lost *Besley* (Chatsworth), *Besseley*, *-legh* 1296, c. 1300, 1351 *HardCh*, surviving as late as 1721, and probably derived from the OScand personal name *Bessi* and OE **lēah**, and *Coupmonlondes* 1296 *HardCh* in the same parish, the first element of which is ON **kaup-maðr** "a merchant, a trader." Certainly while such names as these and Thorp (Outseats) attest the presence of Scandinavian settlers, such settlements can hardly have been particularly early. Other place-name evidence is of the type which could easily appear as a result of the gradual extension of Scandinavian influence.

In the limestone areas north of the R. Wye Rowland is the only parish-name of Scandinavian origin. Indeed it is the only such name in the whole of north-west Derbyshire. In the minor names the only possible Scandinavian compound is Cunning Dale (Fairfield).

The one significant feature of the minor and field-names is a further group of Slacks, particularly in several adjacent parishes, Peak Forest, Wormhill, Wheston, Litton and Tideswell (and further east in the similarly adjacent parishes of Abney and Hazlebadge, close to the limestone area). Here are Dogmanslack (Peak Forest) (*Dogmanslacke* 1617 *Hard*) and *Botilsclac* 15th *Middleton*, *Slackes* 1330 *Ass*, and *the Dungeon Slack* 1685 *ShefJC*. Further north in the most westerly parishes of the county examples of Slack are again found:

Slack Hall (Chapel en le Frith), *Slak* 1285 *For* (p);
Slack Ho (Chinley), *Slacke* Hy 8, Eliz *DuLa*;
Raven Slack (New Mills), *Raveneslak* 1285 *For*;
and Slack Edge (Charlesworth), only modern forms;

[65] See p. 111.

as well as in the field-names of Fernilee, Hayfield, Ludworth, New Mills and Mellor. Occasional examples appear, too, further to the east in Edale, Hope Woodlands and Thornhill.

No doubt the appearance of Slacks in these areas is as elsewhere to be explained in part on topographical grounds, but its appearance in more western and north-western areas suggests that this distinctively OWScand word entered the county through men of Norwegian origin coming from Cheshire and Lancashire where they had settled in large numbers.

In the extreme north-west an earlier name for a part of High Peak hundred was *As(e)lakesto(u)wapentagio, -wapentacum* 1179, 1185, 1186, 1202 P, from the ON personal name *Áslákr*, ODan *Aslak* and OE **stōw** "a place, a place of assembly." The extent of the *wapentake* is unknown, but since it included the land of the abbey of Basingwerk it covered at least most of the modern parishes of Glossop and Charlesworth, for that abbey owned land in this particular part only of Derbyshire. A hybrid place-name of so important a place is particularly noteworthy in this region where no names of important places are of Scandinavian origin.

Two striking features are to be noted in the place-names of certain parts of the north-west of the county.

There is a great concentration of Booths around Edale. Such names have already been noted as Booth(e)s (both Hartington and Hathersage), Booth Hay (Yeaveley), Thurlowbooth (Crich) and in a small number of field-names particularly those around Wirksworth. To these must be added Booth (Hayfield), *Bothe* 1580 Lanc and Booth, a field-name in Edale. In Edale too are:

Barber Booth, *Barber booth* 1675 *Add*;
Crowdenlee Booth, Crodenlie booth 1618 *Add*;
Grindsbrook Booth, *Grimsbrok Bothe* 1561 Pat, *vaccar' in Eydall vocat' Grimsbrooke* 1607 *DuLa*;
Lady Booth,[66] *Lady bowth otherwise Tunstydleyghe* 1554–8 Lanc;
Nether Booth, *Nether bouth* 1577 Saxton;
Ollerbrook Booth, *a vaccary in Eydale called Ollerbroke* 1562 Lanc;
Upper Booth, 1732 *ParReg*;
and *Whitemoorley Booth, vaccar' in Eydall vocat' Whit(e)morley* 1590 *DuLaMB*, 1607 *DuLa*.

These names are probably to be derived from ODan **bōth** rather than OEScand **búð**, both of which mean "a booth, a temporary shelter," though forms in *ou* and *ow* may suggest influence from the latter word. The word here signifies a temporary shed used by the herdsmen to shelter the sheep and cattle which were allowed within the confines of Peak Forest, the extensive mediaeval hunting forest in north-west Derbyshire.

Secondly there is a considerable cluster of Grains, particularly in the parish of Hope Woodlands. Here are:

Alport Grain, *Operd graine* (sic) 1627 *Senior*;
Deep Grain, *The Diepe graine* 1627 *Senior*;

[66] Surviving in the name of Lady Booth Brook.

Great Wood, *Graines woode* 1627 *Senior* (the identification is certain);
Little Grain, *Little graine* 1627 *Senior*;
Long Grain, *Long graine* 1627 *Senior*;
Nether, Upper North Grain, *Nether, Upper north graine* 1627 *Senior*;
while Far and Near Fork Grain, Grains in the Water, Grinah Grain and Nungrain Brink appear only in very late forms.

In the adjacent parish of Derwent is

Grainfoot, *Greynfoote* 1592 Hall x, *Graynfott* 1626 *SR*.

Examples also occur in the field-names of Charlesworth, Chinley and Edale. Indeed it is important to note that there are very few examples of this word outside this area. Here, too, we have a word which is found in Lancashire, Cumberland and the North Riding of Yorkshire, again counties where men of Norwegian descent had settled.

Morris[67] has pointed out how names of Scandinavian origin appear in the north-west of Derbyshire in scattered, irregular groups. This is however more apparent than real, and there is hardly a parish in the whole of this area which has not its proportion of such names. Moreover the names of three old roads in the area may be added:

Bathamgate, *Bathinegate* (for *Bathme-*) 1400 Dugd, *Bathom gate* 1538 *AD*;
Castlegate, *Castilgate* c. 1250, Hy 3 *BelCh*;
and Doctor's Gate, *Docto Talbotes gate* (sic) 1627 *Senior*,

in each of which the second element is **gata**.

None the less, as has been pointed out, names of habitative sites Scandinavian in origin are most rare. Indeed where Scandinavian elements appear in place-names the first element is almost invariably of English origin, and such place-names are those of topographical features. Therefore Morris can hardly be correct in his tentative suggestion that such names were given by early Scandinavian invaders.[68]

There is also a further group of names which should be considered. These normally end in -set(t), -seat(s) in modern spellings, and include Ollersett, Thornset(t), Moorseats, *Redseats* and Woodseats. The usual ME endings in these names are *-set(e)*, *-sett(e)*, *-setes*, *-settes*, rarely *-shed*. Morris considers that these comprise a group derived from ON **sætr** "a mountain pasture, a shieling" and that their situations on hillsides support this.[69] The early forms of these names could equally well be derived from OE (**ge**)**set** "a dwelling, a place for animals, a fold" or even OE **sæte** "a house." The group of Woodseats in Derbyshire points clearly to one or other of the English words, perhaps more likely the former.

In the north-west Bank, Breck, Brink, Carr, Flatt and Holme are found in fair numbers, while ON **þverr** (neuter **þvert**) occurs several times in Overthwart, in Castleton, Chapel en le Frith, Edale and Hope, as well as in *le*

[67] Morris, pp. 142–3.
[68] Morris, p. 143.
[69] Morris, p. 142.

Twerdikes 1310 *ShefMD*. Scar, rare in the county, is found occasionally in Edale and Hope Woodlands, and Scout in Kinder Scout for which only late forms have been found. Again both Scar and Scout occur in counties in which considerable settlement by men of Norwegian descent had taken place.

The overall impression in the north-west of Derbyshire is that the Scandinavian element does not belong to the times of the earliest Scandinavian settlements, but rather to later periods with the spread of people of Scandinavian descent and of Scandinavian influence into the area. Furthermore, there is evidence here, especially in OWScand **slakki** and perhaps too in **sker** and **skúti**, that at least a part of this had come originally from the west, from Cheshire and Lancashire where men of Norwegian stock had settled. It cannot be solely on topographical grounds that the vast majority of names in Slack occur in the western parishes of the county, with only occasional examples in the hundreds of Scarsdale and Repton and Gresley.

In the east, south and south-west, place-name evidence supports the general picture of a Danelaw county, with its main Danish centres of settlement and further areas with hybrids in **tūn** where there was an early expansion to the west. Then in the north-west of the county, comprised of High Peak hundred and much of Wirksworth hundred, there is an area where Scandinavian names of habitative sites are rare but where there are many names of topographical features which contain Scandinavian words. Here there has been a gradual extension of settlement by men whose vocabulary contained a large number of words of Scandinavian origin, and at least a part of this settlement must have been by men from the west. When this took place it is impossible to say, but it is unlikely to have been very early and could have taken place at any time in the ME period.

The name of the county itself is first recorded as *Deorbyscire* 1049 (late 11th) ASC D. Its origin in all probability is similar to that of Northamptonshire and Nottinghamshire, both of which represent the districts occupied by a division of the Danish army with its headquarters at Northampton and Nottingham respectively.[70] Derbyshire thus would represent a Danish military district with headquarters at Derby. The formation of the county must therefore be placed at the end of the ninth century or in the first part of the tenth century and must be the direct result of the military settlement of Danes in the area.

The district which comprised Derbyshire cannot however have been well-defined, particularly in the south, for as has been noted, some villages are included in one or other of the adjacent counties of Leicestershire and Staffordshire as well as in Derbyshire.[71] There were also island parishes beyond the county boundaries. This situation persisted almost to the end of the last century, when many of these boundary parishes were transferred to Leicestershire or Staffordshire. The limits of the county here must have been very ill-defined even in the later Middle Ages. Elsewhere this situation does not

[70] See PN Nth xviii, xix and PN Nt xvi, n[1].
[71] Cf. p. 106.

appear so clearly. High Peak hundred is not named in Domesday Book and though this may be a pure coincidence it should be noted that it is not so called till the early thirteenth century. The Danish hold on the uplands of the extreme north-west can hardly have been firm in the earliest periods of Scandinavian settlement.

In early documents all six major divisions of the county are called wapentakes. This follows the custom of other Scandinavian areas in England. The term *wapentake* is retained for various lengths of time in the various divisions. The change to *hundred* is earliest for Appletree, and *wapentake* appears to have been retained longest for Wirksworth which is still referred to in that way in the eighteenth century. In Leicestershire, Nottinghamshire and probably also Lincolnshire, there is an additional subdivision of the wapentake into a number of smaller hundreds, the function of which is unknown. In the Domesday survey of Derbyshire the unique hundred of *Salle*[72] shows that a similar subdivision occurred at least in part of the county. No additional hundred of this type has been discovered and it is unknown how extensive the system may have been in Derbyshire.

The nationality of the Scandinavian settlers has already been suggested at least in part. The place-names in *-by* have forms which clearly suggest derivation from ODan **bȳ** rather than OWScand **bœr**. Those which contain **þorp**, either in simplex place-names or as second element of a compound, also point to Danish rather than to Norwegian settlement. Some of the early forms of Holme (both Bakewell and Newbold) are from the specifically East Scandinavian form **hulm**. The place-name Denby clearly indicates also the presence of Danes, though as has been seen in an area itself not predominantly Danish. In addition there are several personal names used as first element in place-names in Derbyshire which appear to be of distinctively East Scandinavian origin: *Alger* (*Algarthorpe*), *Áki* (Oakthorpe), *Boie* (Boyah, Boythorpe), *Mōthir* (Moodersley), *Swerkir* (Swarkeston), *Þormund* (*Thurmansley*), *Þurlakr* (Thurlowbooth), *Tupi* (Tupton) and *Ulkel* (Oakerthorpe).

On the other hand there is some evidence for the presence of Norwegians among the main body of the Danish settlers, as was the case in Nottinghamshire.[73] There are three Normantons in Derbyshire as against the five in Nottinghamshire. Such a name could only have come into use to describe a particular place when the main body of the invaders was Danish. It may be noted that all are found in areas in which names in *-by* are found, two in the north-east, the other near Derby. It is of course impossible to say from the names themselves whether these Norwegians had come to England direct from Norway, or had joined the Danish invaders in this country, having reached north-west England via Ireland or the Isle of Man.

There is certainly evidence that men from the north-west of England settled

[72] Named from Sawley, near Long Eaton. It represents a part of the *Wapentake* of Morleyston and Litchurch.

[73] See PN Nt xx.

in Derbyshire. That is implicit in the two Iretons. As has been suggested, ON **Íri** is used both of a viking who had been to Ireland before coming to England and also of Irishmen who accompanied the Vikings. The first element of Bretby and Bret-Griffe in all probability refers to Britons who had come from north-west England and accompanied the invaders, and Mammerton and Mercaston have respectively as first element the personal name *Maelmuire*, OIr in origin, and *Merchiōn*, a British personal name found in Cumberland. The men who gave their names to these two places must also have come from the north-west of England.

Place-names therefore suggest that the early Scandinavian settlers were predominantly Danish, as the general history of the Danelaw shows, but that among them were Norwegians and some who had been in the north-west of England before they joined the invaders. How much Norwegian settlement in Derbyshire was made from Lancashire and Cheshire it is impossible to say. Some must certainly have been effected in this way as the numerous examples of OWScand **slakki** show, but the evidence as a whole suggests that this did not belong to the earliest periods of Scandinavian settlement in the county.[74]

KENNETH CAMERON

ABBREVIATIONS

a.	*ante.*
Abbr	*Placitorum Abbrevatio* (RC), 1811.
AD	Ancient Deeds in PRO.
Add	Additional MSS. in BrMus.
AddCh	Additional Charters in BrMus.
Angl	Anglian.
ASC	*Two of the Saxon Chronicles Parallel*, ed. C. Plummer, 2 vols., Oxford 1892–9.
Ass	Assize Rolls nos. 144–51, in PRO.
ASWills	*Anglo-Saxon Wills*, ed. D. Whitelock, Cambridge 1930.
Bateman	Bateman MSS. in Chatsworth House.
BCS	*Cartularium Saxonicum*, ed. W. de G. Birch, 3 vols., London 1885–93.
Beau	Cartulary of Beauchief Abbey (Transcript by Professor G. R. Potter) (late 14th).
BelCh	Unpublished documents at Belvoir Castle.
Bemrose	Unpublished documents in the Bemrose Collection in the Derby Public Library.
BrMus	MS. preserved in the British Museum.
Brookhill	Unpublished documents preserved at Brookhill Hall.
Burton	*Descriptive Catalogue of the Charters and Muniments (of Burton Abbey) belonging to the Marquis of Angelsey* (Salt 1937), 1937.
c.	*circa.*
Cal	*Calendar of the Records of the County of Derby*, compiled by the Rev. J. C. Cox, London 1899.
CartAnt	*The Cartae Antiquae Rolls* 1–10 (PRSoc), 1939.
cf.	Compare.
Ch	*Calendar of Charter Rolls* (PRO), 6 vols., 1903–27.
Cl	*Calendar of Close Rolls* (PRO), in progress.
Coins	Coins in the British Museum etc.

[74] My best thanks are due to Professor Bruce Dickins, who has most kindly read this article in manuscript and contributed several valuable additions.

Cox iii	J. C. Cox, *The Chronicles of All Saints, Derby*, London 1881.
CPG	Unpublished documents in the Chandos-Pole-Gell Collection in the possession of Lt.-Col. J. Chandos Pole.
Crich	Registrum Cartarum Cantariae de Cruch (Harley MS. 3369) in BrMus (c. 1400).
Ct	Unpublished Court Rolls in various hands.
Cur	*Curia Regis Rolls* (PRO), in progress.
Dale	Cartulary of Dale Abbey (Cott Vesp E xxvi) in BrMus (e. 14th).
Darley	*The Cartulary of Darley Abbey*, ed. R. R. Darlington, 2 vols., Kendal 1945 (14th).
DB	Domesday Book.
DbA	*Journal of the Derbyshire Archaeological and Natural History Society*, in progress.
DbCh	*Descriptive Catalogue of Derbyshire Charters*, compiled by I. H. Jeayes, London 1906.
Dep	Exchequer Special Commissions and Depositions in PRO.
Derby	Unpublished documents in the Derby Public Library.
Derbyshire	Unpublished documents in the Derbyshire County Library.
DKR	*Reports by the Deputy Keeper of the Public Records.*
Dugd	W. Dugdale, *Monasticon Anglicanum*, 6 vols., London 1817–30.
DuLa	Duchy of Lancaster documents (*Ct*, *Rentals* and *MinAcct*) in PRO.
DuLaMB	Duchy of Lancaster Miscellaneous Books nos. 4, 22, 28, 45, 114 and 137, in PRO.
Dunst	Cartulary of Dunstable Priory (Harley MS. 1885) in BrMus (13th with additions to 15th).
e.	early.
ECP	*Early Chancery Proceedings* (PRO Lists and Indexes, nos. 12, 16, 20, 29, 38, 47, 48, 50, 51, 54), 1901–33.
ed.	edited by, edition.
EPN	*English Place-Name Elements* (EPNS xxv-xxvi), 1956.
EPNS	English Place-Name Society publications.
Ethelwerd	*Fabii Ethelwerdi chronicorum libri quatuor* (in H. Petrie, *Monumenta Historica Britannica*, London 1848).
EveryCh	Unpublished documents in the Every Collection in the Derby Public Library.
ExchKR	Exchequer King's Remembrancer in PRO.
Extent	Ancient Extents in PRO.
Fairbank	Charts, maps and plans in the Fairbank Collection in the Sheffield Public Library.
Fees	*The Book of Fees* (PRO), 3 vols., 1920–31.
FF	*Calendar of the Fines for the County of Derby* (DbA vii-xv, xvii), 1885–95.
FF	Unpublished Feet of Fines to 1603, in PRO.
Fm	Farm.
For	Forest Proceedings in PRO.
gen.	genitive.
Hall iii	*Descriptive Catalogue of the Charters, etc. forming the Jackson Collection at the Sheffield Public Reference Library*, compiled by T. W. Hall, Sheffield 1914.
Hall x	*Court Rolls of the Manor of Sheffield*, compiled by T. W. Hall, 3 vols., Sheffield 1926–34.
Hard	Hardwick MSS. nos. 11, 16*a*, 22, 28, 29*a*, at Chatsworth House.
HardCh	Hardwick Charters at Chatsworth House.
HarlCh	Harley Charters in BrMus.
Inq aqd	*Inquisitiones ad quod damnum* (RC), 1803.
Ipm	*Calendar of Inquisitions post mortem* (PRO), in progress.
IPN	*Introduction to the Survey of English Place-Names* (EPNS 1, i), 1923.
Kerry	Transcripts of unpublished deeds by the late Rev. C. Kerry in Derby Public Library.

Kniveton	Kniveton Leiger Book (MS. Aj/1/9) in the possession of the Dean and Chapter of Lincoln (14th).
Lanc	*Ducatus Lancastriae calendarium inquisitionum post mortem* (RC), 3 vols., 1823–34.
LeiSur	*The Leicestershire Survey* (in *The Victoria History of the County of Leicester* i, 1907).
ME	Middle English.
MinAcct	Ministers' Accounts in PRO.
NewsteadR	Register of Newstead Priory (*Add* 35170) in BrMus (e. 15th).
ns	New Series.
O	Original 1″ Ordnance Survey maps.
ODan	Old Danish.
OE	Old English (Anglo-Saxon).
OEScand	Old East Scandinavian (ODan and OSwed).
OF	Old French.
OIcel	Old Icelandic.
OIr	Old Irish.
Okeover	*An Account of the Family of Okeover, of Okeover* (Salt ns. vii), 1904 (c. 1350).
ON	Old Norse (chiefly used of OScand cited in OIcel forms).
ONorw	Old Norwegian.
OScand	Old Scandinavian (common OEScand and OWScand forms).
OSwed	Old Swedish.
OWScand	Old West Scandinavian (especially ONorw, OIcel).
P	*Pipe Rolls* (PRSoc), in progress; (RC), 3 vols, 1833–44.
p.	*post.*
(p)	personal name form, a place-name used as a personal name.
ParReg	*Derbyshire Parish Registers* (published).
ParReg	Derbyshire Parish Registers (unpublished).
Pat	*Calendar of Patent Rolls* (PRO) in progress.
Peniarth	Peniarth MS. 390 in the National Library of Wales (13th).
pl.	plural.
Plan	Unpublished plans in various hands.
PN Cu	*The Place-Names of Cumberland* (EPNS), 3 vols., 1950–2.
PN NRY	*The Place-Names of the North Riding of Yorkshire* (EPNS), 1928.
PN Nt	*The Place-Names of Nottinghamshire* (EPNS), 1940.
PN Nth	*The Place-Names of Northamptonshire* (EPNS), 1933.
Portland	Unpublished documents in the Portland Collection in the Nottinghamshire County Record Office.
PRO	Preserved in or published by the Public Record Office.
PRSoc	Pipe Roll Society publications.
R.	River.
RadCh	*Descriptive Catalogue of the Charters and Muniments at Radbourne Hall*, compiled by I. H. Jeayes, London 1896.
RBE	*Red Book of the Exchequer* (RS), 3 vols., 1896.
RC	Publications of the Record Commission, London.
RegAnt	*The Registrum Antiquissimum of the Cathedral Church of Lincoln* (Lincoln Record Society), in progress (Derbyshire charters mainly c. 1320).
RegLich	*The Great Register of Lichfield Cathedral known as Magnum Registrum Album* (Salt 1924), 1926.
Rel	*The Reliquary*, vols. 1–26, ns. 1–7, 1860–93. New Series 1–15, 1895–1909.
Rental	Unpublished Rentals in BrMus, PRO and private hands.
Repton	Report of the MSS. of Repton School (National Register of Archives).
RH	*Rotuli Hundredorum* (RC), 2 vols., 1812–18.
RS	Rolls Series.
Rufford	Registrum cartarum de Rufford (Harley MS. 1063) in BrMus (1471).
s.a.	*sub anno.*

Salt	William Salt Society publications.
SaltCh	Unpublished documents in the William Salt Library, Stafford.
Saxton	C. Saxton, Map of Derbyshire, 1577.
Segrave	Feodarium et Rentale Johannis Domini de Segrave (*Add* 37671) in BrMus (1338–53).
Selden	Selden Society publications.
Senior	Bound MS. of William Senior's plans in Chatsworth House.
Shef	Unpublished documents in the Sheffield Public Library. Distinguished as *BM* Beauchief Muniments, *JC* Jackson Collection, *MD* Miscellaneous Documents, *WC* Wheat Collection.
Shir	*Stemmata Shirleiana; or the Annals of the Shirley Family*, compiled by E. P. Shirley, 2nd ed., London 1873.
SR	Unpublished Subsidy Rolls in the PRO.
StarChamb	Star Chamber Proceedings in the PRO.
StoweCh	*Catalogue of the Stowe Manuscripts in the British Museum*, 2 vols., London 1895–6.
Survey	Unpublished Surveys in various hands.
s.v.	*sub voce*.
Templars	*Records of the Templars in England in the Twelfth Century*, ed. B. A. Lees, London 1935.
Tutbury	Transcript of the Cartulary of Tutbury Priory (*Add* 6714) in BrMus (18th).
v.	*vide*.
Welbeck	Cartulary of Welbeck Abbey (Harley MS. 3640) in BrMus (c. 1400).
Woll	Wolley MSS. (*Add* 6666–6718) in BrMus.
WollCh	Wolley Charters in BrMus.
YCh	*Early Yorkshire Charters*, in progress.
*	a postulated form.

PONS DE CAPDUOILL AND AZALAIS DE MERCUOR: A STUDY OF THE PLANH

The Lament composed by Pons de Capduoill on the death of Azalais is probably the best known of all the poems left us by this troubadour,[1] although it does not exist in an edition which would commend it to any but the specialist. Its study involves some interesting biographical considerations, and it raises once more the problem of originality in the works, not only of Pons, but of the troubadours in general.[2] Much of the biographical and other critical work which has been done on it is, however, of a fragmentary nature, and some of it is difficult of access, even to the specialist.

The purpose of the present article is to provide a text which will be acceptable to the student of Provençal and which, together with a translation, will bring Pons' poem to the notice of the non-specialist; to summarize and appraise the critical work relevant to the identification of Pons and Azalais; to examine the poem in the light of this appraisal and of our knowledge of the *Planh* as a troubadour verse form, and so to arrive at some assessment of its literary merit.

THE MANUSCRIPTS

The *Planh* is to be found in the following MSS., which are listed in Pillet-Carstens,[3] but which I reproduce here for ease of reference:

A = Rome, *Biblioteca Vaticana* 5232, ff. 57v–59.
B = Paris, *Bibliothèque Nationale*, f. fr. 1592, fol. 37.
C = Paris, *Bibliothèque Nationale*, f. fr. 856, fol. 119.
D = Modena, *Biblioteca Estense* (*a* R, 4, 4), fol. 114v.
I = Paris, *Bibliothèque Nationale*, f. fr. 854, ff. 197v.–198.
K = Paris, *Bibliothèque Nationale*, f. fr. 12473, fol. 183v.
M = Paris, *Bibliothèque Nationale*, f. fr. 12474, fol. 159.
O = Rome, *Biblioteca Vaticana*, 3208, diplomatic edition De Lollis in *Atti della R. Accademia dei Lincei*, anno CCLXXXIII, 1886, p. 70 (anonymous attribution).
R = Paris, *Bibliothèque Nationale*, f. fr. 22543, fol. 12.

[1] Besides the critical text edited by Max v. Napolski in *Leben und Werke des Troubadours Pons de Capduoill*, Halle, 1879, p. 85, it can be found in Raynouard's *Choix*, III, 189; in A. Mahn's *Werke*, i, 344; in C. Bartsch's *Lesebuch*, p. 91, and in his *Chrestomathie provençale*, col. 123 (Koschwitz edition, col. 135). A translation into French appears in A. Jeanroy, *Anthologie des troubadours*, pp. 43–45.

[2] The most ardent admirers of the troubadours have noted their apparent lack of originality, particularly as regards content. M. Alfred Jeanroy, *Poésies lyriques des troubadours* (1934), ii, 94, quotes with approval the judgment of Diez on troubadour lyric poetry: "On pourrait se la représenter comme l'oeuvre d'un seul homme" and, whilst admitting that there are differences declares that "elles ne portent guère que sur l'expression." This is, however, an important difference.

[3] A. Pillet and H. Carstens: *Bibliographie der Troubadours*, Halle, 1933. Some of the references given in this work are inaccurate, and have been corrected here.

Sg = Saragossa, *Biblioteca de Catalunya*, 146, No. 4.[4]
T = Paris, *Bibliothèque Nationale*, f. fr. 15211, fol. 127.
a = Florence, *Biblioteca Riccardiana* 2814, diplomatic edition Stengel, in *Revue des Langues Romanes*, XLV, p. 230.
*b*II = Rome, *Biblioteca Vaticana*, Barb. 4087, fol. 20, diplomatic edition G.-B. Festa, in *Annales du Midi*, xxi, p. 209.

For O, *a* and *b*II the diplomatic editions have been used. For the other MSS., except Sg, which was not consulted, photographs have been used.[5]

As is so often the case with the *Chansonniers*, the manuscript tradition is somewhat confused. Nevertheless, certain groupings can be established.

The order of the stanzas is as follows:

ABDMT*ab*	1, 2, 3, 4, tornada 1, tornada 2;
IKR	1, 4, 3, 5, t1, t2;
C	1, 2, 3, 5, 4, t1, t2;
O	1, 4, 3 (defective).

The close relationship between IKR, which is indicated by the order of the stanzas, is confirmed in almost every line of the text: lines 3, 4, 9, 19, 20, 22, 23, 24, 25, 28, 30, 33, 35, 36, 47, 48, 49, 50, 51, 52.

Line 21, missing in AB, proves the relationship between these two MSS., and D is usually associated with them: lines 15, 16, 22, 47 are particularly significant; however, D falls with CMT*ab* in line 28.

The grouping CMT*b*, apparent in lines 4, 28, 31, 47, is assured by line 24 which is missing from these four MSS.; *a* is often found with two or more of this group: lines 15, 28, 31, 52.

O is defective, and in some respects seems to occupy a position between the main groups. The order of stanzas and line 33 indicate a grouping IKRO; but more often the text of O is closer to ABD.

The authenticity of stanza 5 in the present text is open to some doubt. It is true that the group CIKR appears to support it strongly; but the other MSS. usually associated with C agree with ABD in omitting it, and the whole tone of the stanza may be felt to be at variance with the rest of the poem.[6] Nevertheless, it has been included for the sake of completeness, and has been placed immediately before the *tornadas*, where the change of tone is perhaps less out of place.

Any editor has therefore a choice between three main groups: ABD, CMT(*a*)*b*, IKR. The last has been rejected, since it is in a more isolated position than the others. The chief claim of the centre group is that C alone contains all the stanzas; however, the MSS. in this group show so many isolated variants that they may be deemed less satisfactory than ABD, on which the choice has therefore fallen.

[4] Dr. S. Aston has drawn my attention to the fact that this MS. is now in Barcelona.
[5] I wish to express my gratitude to the *Institut de Recherche et d'Histoire des Textes*, who have lent me the photographs of MSS. A and D.
[6] Cf. *infra* p. 131.

D has been taken as base MS., since AB (which, like IK, are so similar as to constitute a single authority), have a lacuna in line 21—a serious consideration in so short a poem. The readings of D have been abandoned only where they differ significantly from those of AB, and where in the particular instance AB is supported by other MSS. and, in line 22, when ABD are faced by a strong combination of MSS.

THE PLANH

De toz chaitius sui eu aicel qe plus
ai gran dolor e suffri gran turmen;
per q'eu volgra morir, e fora gen
q'eu m'ausies, puois tant sui esperdus;
qe viures m'es marrimenz et esglais,
puois morta es ma domna N'Azalais:
greu pensar fai l'ira ni·l dol ni·l dan.
Morz trairiz! Ben vos puosc en ver dire
qe non pogues el mon meillor ausire.

Ai! com fora gariz et ereubus
s'a Deu plagues q'eu fos primeiramen
morz! Las, caitius, non voill mais loniamen
viur'apres leis. Reis, perdona·ill, Iesus!
Deus poderos, dreiturers e verais,
Salvaire Cristz, nomnaz sobre toz gais,
l'arma rendez San Peir'e San Iohan!
Que tuit li ben i son c'om puosca dire,
e de toz mals la pot hom escondire.

Seigner, ben la devem plaingner chascus,
q'anc no fo hom ne vis tan avinen.
Qi aura mais tan bel captenemen?
qe val beutaz, ni bons prez mentagus,
ni qe val sens, honors ni solaz gais,
genz acuillirs ni nuills cortes essais,
ni qe valon franc dich ni faich prezan?
Segles dolenz! De bon cor vos azire!
Mout valez pauc puois lo miellz n'es a dire!

Jois es deliz e jovenz es perdus,
e toz lo monz es tornaz en nien;
car comt'e duc e maint baron valen
n'eran plus pro, q'anc no la vi negus,
e mil domnas valion per leis mais!
Mais ar podem saber c'ab nos s'irais
Nostre Seingner, qi la fes valer tan,
c'aissi nos volc tolre solaz e rire,
e donar mais d'affan e de conssire.

Aras podem saber qe·il angel sus
son de sa mort alegre e jauzen,
q'auzit ai dir', e troba hom legen:
"qui lauza pobles lauza dominus";
per qe sai ben qu'ill es el ric palais,
en flors de lis, en rosas et en glais;
la lauzon l'angel ab joy et ab chan.
Cel la deu ben, qe anc no fo mentire,
en paradis sobre totas assire.

Ai! qals danz es de midonz N'Azalais!
Non puosc als far ma de toz jois mi lais
e pren comjat de chantar derenan,
e planc e plor e maint coral suspire
m'an mes per leis en angoissos martire.

Amics N'Andreus, camjat son mei desire,
ni ja d'amor no serai mais jauzire.

1, sui]soi *b* son IK; aicel]aquel ABR. 2, ai]Tra C, Ha MTb; gran t.]greu t. IKMRb. 3, q'eu]que IKR; fora]foram IKMRTb. 4, q'eu]que IKRO; puois tant sui]pus que tant CMTb quar trop viu IKR; esperdus]ai perdut CMTb (perdus M). 5, qe]e IKR. 6, N'Azalais]nalazais ABCRb na alais *a*. 7, greu]mal O; pensar fai]soffrir fair IK pensarai C pasara T passarai *b*; ni·l dol ni·l dan]el dol el dan IK tal dan *a*; dans C. 8, mort C; en ver]en vez R; dir T. 9, qe]quanc IKR quant O; el mon m.]meillor domna IKR (don R). 10–18 *missing in* IKRO. 10, erebuz D. 11, primeiramen]premiers mortz *b*. 12, mort DT. 13, leis] *missing in b*; perdonaill reis *b*; rei CT ren *a*. 14, Deus poderos]seigner pros D cars poderos C reis poderos M totz poderos *b* poderos *missing in a*. 15, salva la CMTb sabiatz la *a*; crist ABC; nomnaz]non la CMTa; sobre toz gais]s. ton lays CT s. nuls fais M s. toillatz *a* a tu la lais *b*. 16, e ren larma CM, ren la mi T, e larma ren *b*; San Peir'e]al baro *b*; San Johan]s. iohas C. 17, tuit li ben]totz los bes Cb; son]eran M; puosca dire] po dire M. 18, tut mal T; lan pot C; e pot la homs de t.m.e. M. 19, ben]molt IKR. 20, ne vis]vezes D qen vis M ve ges *a*; quanc dieus nō fez el mon t.a. IKR canc nescuns hom noi vis T canc no vi hom t.a. *b*. 21, missing in AB; qi aura mais]aiqual avia CT qil avia *a* ne ques ages M tant savia ab *b* qual savera mais O. 22, Ni que val jois ni rics pretz IKMRTb mentagus]mantengus ABD mentaubus Oa. 23, en que C honors]amors T; ni nuls bos fagz ni nuls cortes assais IKR de mil cor ies O. 24, *missing in* CMTb; ni . . . essais]vers ni chansos ni lais IKR. 25, prezans C; prezan fais M; Ni plazen ditz ni avinen semblan IKR. 26, Segle dolen CRTab; de bon]dolen C, de tot M; azire]adire D. 27, valc T; miellz]mal O; a dire]azire D. 28, Jois es deliz]Jois e deleiz Dab, ioi e delieyt C, joi e deleig O, iois e gioventz MT; jovenz] deportz IKR, delietz M, deleit T. 29, en nien]e nien ABMOab, a nien IKRT. 30, car]que IKR; maint] *missing in* T; baron]ome R. 31, neront A, nerant B, nera C; q'anc]er CMTab; vi]ve CMTab. 32, e] *missing in* T, ez O; mil]mills D valion]vaillam O. 33, ara podem IKRO, or podem T, podon Cb, pot hom M; c'ab]cap D; c'ab nos]quel mon Cb, q̄ motz M, qals nos O, com nos T. 35, C'aissi]quen leis IKR, Car si T; nos . . . rire]nous a tot chan solatz e rire IKR (nos sia tot R), caissi na tolt ioi s.e.r. O. 36, e mais donat IK, e donat mais O, per mais donar R, ens a dat mais CMT; d'affan]desmai IKR, de noil (?) O. 37, e podem be saber C. 39, e trobam ho CR. 40, Cui CR; pobles so lauza C; q̄ lauza dns I. 41, el] *missing in* I. 42, et en glais]ses esglais R. 43, ab gran ioy C. 44, que]qui C. 46, Ai qals]dieus quals IK; nalazais ACMRTab. 47, ma . . . lais]de totz solatz mi lais CMTb; de tot ioy men lais IK. 48, chantar]chansos IKR. 49, que plaing IKR; e . . . suspire]en mon cor qar i suspire M, en mon cor qar suspire *b*. 50, an mes mon cor IKR; martire]sospire C, dezire R. 51, amic CTb; nandrieu ABC andreu IKR; desire]consire IKR. 52, que ia IKR, nō ia M; jauzire]servire MTa.

TRANSLATION

On me has fallen the bitterest grief, the greatest sorrow ever endured by wretched man; so that I wish for death, and to slay myself would be a pleasant thing, such is my despair; for life is a burden to me and a torment, since

Death has taken my lady Azalais. The woe, the pain of my loss lies heavy on my heart. O traitor Death! Truly may I say in my verse that you could not in all the world have slain a better!

Ah! what suffering would I not have been spared if it had pleased God that I should die before her! Alas, unhappy wretch! I have no wish to live on now that she is dead. Jesus, King, pardon her! True, just, almighty Lord, our Saviour Christ, whose very name is Joy beyond compare! render up her soul to Saint Peter and Saint John; for in her are all the virtues that can be told, and of all sins she may be held blameless.

Truly, my lord,[7] each of us should mourn her, for never was seen such perfection in a lady; and where shall we find again the grace that was hers? What avails beauty, or true worth which is cherished in men's esteem? What avails sense, honour, or cheerful companionship, a friendly welcoming heart, or any courteous act; of what use sincere speech or deeds worthy of praise? Ah, joyless world! you are of little worth since all that was best in you is no more!

Joy is destroyed and Youth has gone from among us, and all the world is turned to nothingness; for counts and dukes and many a worthy baron, without ever having seen her, were nobler because of her; and a thousand ladies, through her, were enhanced in true worth! But now Our Lord, who made her so perfect, makes known His wrath against us, since He has wished to deprive us thus of all mirth and solace, filling our cup instead with grief and tribulation.

Yet we can be sure that the angels above are rejoicing at her death; for I have heard it said, and it is also found in books, that "whom the people praise the Lord also praises." Therefore I know well that she is in the heavenly mansion, amid lilies, roses and sword-grasses, where angels joyfully sing her praise. Truly He, who never lied, should set her above all others in Paradise!

Ah! what a loss is the death of Lady Azalais! There is nothing for me but to abandon Joy and bid farewell to singing: grief and lamentation and many a sigh from the heart have wrung my soul with anguish at her loss.

Friend Andrew, changed are my desires; and nevermore shall I find Joy in Love.

BIOGRAPHICAL NOTE

Apart from the *Planh* itself, the only references to the relationship between Pons and Azalais are to be found in the Provençal *vida* of Pons de Capduoill and in the *razo* which follows the *vida* in certain (later) MSS.[8]

According to the *vida*, Pons was a nobleman of the diocese of Le Puy-en-Velay, who loved Azalais de Mercuor, wife of Oisil de Mercuor and daughter of Bernart d'Anduza; "he loved her dearly and praised her and made many good songs about her; and as long as she lived, he loved no other, and when the lady died,[9] he took the Cross and went over the sea and died there."

[7] Jeanroy (*Anthologie*, p. 44) suggests, rightly no doubt, that this refers to the husband of Azalais.

[8] The *vida*, which occurs in 10 MSS., and the *razo*, found only in EPRSgb, have most recently been published by J. Boutière and A. H. Schutz, in *Biographies des Troubadours*, Paris, 1950.

[9] MS. P here interpolates "he made for her this lament" and quotes the first stanza of the *Planh*.

The *razo*[10] relates that Pons, in order to test the love of Azalais, transferred his attentions to Lady Audiart, wife of Roselin[11] Lord of Marseilles; and that this foolish action led to a breach between Pons and Azalais, which was only healed through the intervention of Marie de Ventadour, the Comtesse de Montferrand, and the Vicomtesse d'Aubusson.

Of the poems of Pons only two crusading songs[12] can be dated with any certainty.

In addition, Pons is named in a poem of Elias de Barjols[13] and, together with Audiart, in a *tenso* between Ricau de Tarascon and Guy de Cavaillon.[14]

The efforts of earlier scholars to identify Pons and Azalais were vitiated by two misapprehensions—namely, that Pons died in 1189, on the Third Crusade[15], and that Azalais was the lady Sail-de-Claustra sung also by the poet Peirol.[16]

However, Napolski's doubts regarding the circumstances of Pons' death were supported by P. Meyer who, in his review of the Napolski edition,[17] notes a person of this name in a Charter of 1205; and in 1893 Teilhard de Chardin[18] brought new evidence to bear in the shape of certain Latin charters covering the period 1195–1211, and relating to the reciprocal rights of the bishop of Clermont and the family of Capduoill in respect of the castle of Vertaizon. Clearly, if the poet did not die in 1189, it might be possible to identify him with the *Pontius de Capitolio* of the charters.

In 1906 S. Stronski[19] observed that the *tenso* referred to above must relate to the troubadour Pons de Capduoill, since Audiart is named with him; that it

[10] Boutière et Schutz, op. cit., pp. 259–263; MSS. EPRSgb.

[11] Named only in P.

[12] The poems *En honor del paire* and *So c'om plus vols*. Napolski, op. cit., pp. 89 and 67.

[13] S. Stronsky: *Le Troubadour Elias de Barjols*, Bibliothèque Méridionale, Première série, t.X, Toulouse, 1906.

[14] M. Stronsky gives the text of the relevant stanzas in an article *En Pons de Capduelh* in *Annales du Midi*, xviii (1906), p. 485, n. 1.

[15] F. Diez (*Leben und Werke der Troubadours*, Leipzig, 1882, and Napolski, *op. cit.*, held this view—although the latter, commenting on the line *"Qui que romaingn'eu irai voluntos"* (a clear statement of Pons' intention to take the Cross) does suggest that the *vida* may be forged on the basis of this passage.

[16] So T. de Chardin: *Chartes concernant Vertaison*, Clermont-Ferrand, 1893. The confusion seems to have arisen from the fact that, on the one hand, Peirol's lady also married into the Mercuor family; and that, on the other, "Sail" was held (notably by Diez, op. cit., p. 250, n. 2) to be a contraction of Assalide. Diez, in fact, as Dr. Aston has pointed out (*Peirol, Troubadour of Auvergne*, C.U.P., 1953, p. 4), was only following Baluze, who explained thus the form *Nassal* which he found in Nostradamus.

[17] *Romania*, X, p. 270. Meyer also refers to the *tenso* between Ricau and Guy in which Pons and Audiart are mentioned, but assumed that this must be another Pons de Capduoill.

[18] *Chartes concernant Vertaizon*, Clermont, 1893. These refer to a *Pontius de Capitolio* who married, before 1196, Jarentone, heiress to the castle of Vertaizon, and who was condemned by Philippe-Auguste in 1205 to hand over Vertaizon to Robert, Bishop of Clermont from 1196–1227; this was the result of an enquiry, instituted by the Pope, into the conduct of Pons, who had imprisoned the bishop in 1199. The fourth and last document shows that Pons and his wife, and their three sons and three daughters, and their three sons-in-law, sold Vertaizon to the Bishop in 1211. The price was 7650 marks, of which 7000 were to be retained by the bishop as damages for the wrong done him in 1100. The sons' names were Jourdain, Pierre de Fay and Jarenton.

[19] *En Pons de Capduelh, Annales du Midi*, xviii, pp. 483–5.

clearly refers to living persons, since Pons and Audiart are invoked as judges; and that the *terminus a quo* of the *tenso* is 1210.

In 1905 Kurt Lewent[20] demonstrated that two at least of the crusading poems of Pons relate, not to the Third Crusade, but to the events of 1213–14.

Meanwhile, also in 1893, A. Thomas[21] had expressed doubts regarding the identification of Azalais with Sail-de-Claustra, pointing out that "Sail" is not a contraction of Azalais, but a name composed of the Imperative of *salir*, and that all that the two ladies had in common was that they married members of the Mercuor family.

Finally, in 1907, C. Fabre,[22] on the authority of l'Abbé Roche,[23] Bouillet[24] and M. Boudet,[25] identified Azalais and her family. *"Bernart d'Anduza"* was Bernart VII d'Anduze—an important figure in the Albigensian War, who died about 1233. He had four sons, three of whom married in 1208, 1195 and 1207 respectively; and a daughter Adélaïde (Azalais or Alazais[26]), who married Odilon (Oisil) de Mercuor. Her husband was the third son of Béraud VII de Mercuor,[27] who became Lord of Saugues in the Gévaudan, Haute Loire, and then, in 1247, bishop of Mende, and died in 1273. Azalais must, therefore, have married after 1200, and died before 1247.

In the same article, Fabre re-examines the Vertaizon Charters, together with certain other documents which indicate that the same Pons was still living in 1220[28]; and he reviews the evidence, already adduced by K. Lewent, for dating Pons' crusading poems in 1213–14.

[20] *Das Alt-provenzalisches Kreuzlied*, in *Rom. Forsch.*, xxi, pp. 350–52. The *sirventès En honor del paire* refers to strife between the Kings of England and France, and also between the Emperor and the "King of Apulia.' The events in question can only be those of 1213–14, when Frederick II was allied to Philippe-Auguste against Otto IV of Saxony and John Lackland. In 1212, too, in answer to an appeal from the Pope, Frederick did take the Cross, but was prevented from leading the Crusade at that time by the events related above. Lewent justifies his identification of Frederick by reference to a passage in the *Recueil des Historiens des Gaules et de la France*, nouv. éd., t. xviii, p. 578 (Paris, 1879): *Fredericus, cognominatus puer Apuliae Romae apud Sanctum-Petrum a domino Honorio in Imperatorem Romanorum est consecratus* (1220). The poem *So c'om plus vols* also refers to warfare between the King and the Emperor. In the light of the allusions in the first poem, this also seems to indicate Otto and Frederick. The song is dedicated to a King of Aragon, who must then be Peter II, slain at Muret.

[21] *Annales du Midi*, v, p. 374.

[22] *Le Troubadour Pons de Chapteuil, Mém. de la Soc. Agricole et Scientifique de la Haute-Loire*, t. xiv, 1907.

[23] *Armorial des évêques de Viviers*, Lyons, 1898, i, 210.

[24] *Nobiliaire d'Auvergne*, iv, 113 ff.; and *Grande Encyclopédie Berthelot, art. Mende: Evêques.*

[25] *Revue d'Auvergne* xxii, pp. 250 ff.

[26] Both forms occur in the MSS.

[27] Boudet, whose numbering is different from that used by Bouillet, calls him Béraud IV. Oisil is thus the grandson of Sail-de-Claustra.

[28] These are: (*a*) The *Saint-Agrève Charter*, relating to the sale of a property in Le Puy by Pons de Chapteuil, in 1218, ratified by his wife Jarentone, and by Guillaume Jourdain, Pierre de Fay and Jarente (the sons of Pons: cf. *supra* n. 18) (*Tablettes du Vélay*, vii, 1876–77, p. 357, quoted by Fabre, p. 9); (*b*) *Royal Charter of May 1214* by which Pons' own castle of Capduoill passed under the jurisdiction of the bishops of Le Puy (quoted by Fabre (Fabre cites no authority, but the fact is attested by the Acts of Homage), p. 22); (*d*) Acts of homage of the diocese of Le Puy, which show that Pons did homage to the bishop of Le Puy in respect of Capduoill in 1213 and again in 1220; and that the homage was renewed in 1236—but this time by Pons' grandson, son of Pierre de Fay (Lascombes, *Répertoire général des hommages à l'évêché du Puy*, p. 136; Fabre, p. 22).

From all this evidence Fabre concludes not only that the Pons and Azalais of the poems and the *vida* were the persons referred to in the other documents, and that they lived some time after 1200, but also that Pons was involved in the quarrel between Guy II d'Auvergne (1195–1224) and his brother, Robert, bishop of Clermont, which quarrel began in 1198 and ended, with the total defeat and spoliation of Guy, in 1213; that Pons himself was despoiled of his wife's property of Vertaizon; that he only retained his own patrimony of Capduoill through the intervention of the bishop of Le Puy, to whom, in return, he was required to do homage as from 1213; and finally that, since Frederick's projected crusade of 1213–14 was deferred until 1227, and since Pons was alive in 1220, but not in 1236, he must have died on the crusade of 1227.

Pending the discovery of further evidence, much of Fabre's theory must be held to be, at best, a plausible interpretation of the facts.

To some extent, however, it is possible to confirm the facts related in the *vida*: the persons mentioned can be identified with some certainty; and Pons did in fact sing the praises of Azalais—at least in the *Planh*.[29]

On the other hand, there is no historical evidence to confirm the relationship between Pons and Azalais, or his death in the Holy Land, or the connexion between the death of Azalais and his taking the Cross.

However, since the *Planh* names Azalais, and since all the persons named in the *vida* were well known in Auvergne—especially at the court of Dauphin d'Auvergne—it seems unlikely that the author of the *vida*, writing fairly soon after the event,[30] would invent the story of their relationship or of his death in the Holy Land.

If, therefore, we accept the evidence of the *vida*, we must assume that Azalais died, and that the *Planh* was written, shortly before 1227. In any event, the *terminus ad quem* of both the death of Azalais and the poem is 1236, by which time Pons was dead.

Attempts have been made to throw further light on the biography of Pons by identifying Audiart[31] and the other persons named in the *razo*.[32]

It is true, of course, that Audiart is named in several of his poems[33]; that a *Na Maria* and a *comtes* are mentioned in one of his songs[34]; that they and the troubadours associated with them were well known at Montferrand (as Pons and Azalais must have been also); and that the names of Pons and Audiart are associated in the *tenso* referred to above.[35]

[29] Her name appears in no other poem of Pons; however, many of his songs name no other lady, and may well have been written for her.

[30] The MS. A was written before the end of the thirteenth century (Pillet-Carstens, *op. cit.* p. x).

[31] S. Stronski, *Ann. du Midi*, xix, 549; Fabre, pp. 7–8.

[32] *Marie de Ventadour*, herself a *trobairitz*, whose name is associated with G. Faidit in his songs and his *vida* (Bergert, *Die von den Trobadors genannten oder gefeierten Damen*, Halle, 1913, p. 15); *Comtesse de Montferrand*: wife of Dauphin d'Auvergne (Bergert 28–29); *Vicomtesse d'Aubusson*: Marguerite, wife of Rainaut VI d'Aubusson (Bergert, p. 42).

[33] Napolski, Nos. i (*N'Auda*), viii, xi, xxii.

[34] Napolski, No. xxii. It is, of course, not certain that these ladies are the same as those named in the *Razo*.

[35] N. 14 above.

On the other hand, the MSS. which contain the *razo* are all of the fourteenth century or later[36]; P alone names *Roselin*; Audiart has not yet been satisfactorily identified[37]; and the reference to her and to the other ladies in the *razo* may well have been inspired by the poems in which their names appear. As for the mention of them in the *tenso*, it is by no means certain that this is, as Stronski suggests, an allusion to living persons.

The *razo* certainly has every appearance of having been invented, as so many were,[38] to explain Pons' poems. It actually quotes[39] two songs of Pons which, according to the *razo*, he wrote in order to regain the favour of Azalais. One stanza of the first poem reads as follows in the Napolski edition[40]:

Perdre nom pot per tal qu'ieu am aillors;
Pero sim sui dellei lonc temps loingnatz:
Qu'ai faitz semblan que totz m'era camjatz
Per asajar, sil plagra ma follors;
E, s'ages mes en autra mon enten,
Ben ai proat qu'il n'agral cor jausen,
S'ieu m'en partis dellei; mais noill val re,
Que ges mos cors nos pot partir de se.

In the other poem[41] the most significant lines are as follows:

tal folia
Ai faich, per que deuria
Morir d'ir'e d'esmai.

E s'ieu per sobramar
Ai reingnat follamen
Ni *per midonz proar*:
Si n'agral cor jauzen,
Sil ferm voler, qu'ieu ai,
De leis servir partria,
Ben conosc, queill plairia;
Per c'ai faich fol essai. . . .

Ni ges non pos loingnar
Mon cor ni mon talen,
E, sim vol perdonar,
Gratz e merces li'n ren.

Clearly, the lines in question—and indeed the whole of these two poems—can refer to a situation such as the *razo* describes. There is no evidence, however,

[36] Pillet-Carstens, pp. xiii ff.

[37] At the time of Pons, no wife of a Lord of Marseilles was called Audiart. Stronski (*Ann. du Midi*, xix, 549) suggests she may be the "fille de Giraut Adhémar, vicomte et co-seigneur de Marseille, et femme de Bertran de Baux, dont le père . . . porta, indûment d'ailleurs, jusqu'à sa mort (1235) le titre de vicomte de Marseille." Fabre's identification relies on the name *Roselin*, which occurs only in P.

[38] Cf. A. Jeanroy, *op. cit.*, i, p. 125.

[39] Boutière et Schutz, p. 262. A third quotation (p. 260) naming Audiart, does not appear in any extant poem of Pons; but the rhymes suggest it may be the missing *Tornada* of No. xiv of the Napolski edition.

[40] Napolski, No. xii. My italics.

[41] Napolski, No. vi. My italics.

apart from the *razo*, that they were addressed to Azalais: for example, two of his poems are addressed to a certain *Na Biatritz*,[42] so that she, and not Azalais, may equally well have been the third party in the triangular situation—if indeed it existed.

It would seem prudent, therefore, in the absence of more conclusive evidence, to treat the *razo* with suspicion, and to rely only on the *vida*—in so far as the latter can be confirmed by reference to contemporary documents.

PONS AND THE *PLANH* AS A VERSE FORM

M. Jeanroy has said of the *Planh*[43]: "Ce genre, en somme, qui exigeait plus que tout autre de la simplicité, de l'émotion, un élan spontané, a plus que tout autre souffert de cet abus des formules, de cette tyrannie du cliché auxquels les troubadours, même les plus doués, n'ont pas réussi à se soustraire."

It would perhaps be fairer to say that the elegiac mode, whose purpose it is to express the utmost human grief, imposes, by its very nature, the greatest limitations on expression—as anyone knows who has tried to compose a letter of condolence.

However that may be, the most superficial comparison of Pons' lament with other *planhs* would appear to confirm the judgment of M. Jeanroy.

As Springer has shown,[44] the *Planh* invariably consists of three main elements: the expression of grief; praise of the dead person; and intercession for his soul. These themes find expression as follows: the poet claims that his grief is the greatest that has ever been endured[45]; he would rather die than endure his grief[46]; he apostrophises "treacherous Death"[47]; he intercedes for the soul of the departed[48]; he praises, with varying degrees of hyperbole, the qualities of the dead person[49]; he apostrophises the World, which is the worse for the death

[42] Napolski, Nos. xvi and xvii.

[43] *Op. cit.*, p. 244.

[44] H. Springer: *Das Altprovenzalishes Klagelied, Berliner Beiträge für Germanischen und Romanischen Philologie*, Romanische Abteilung No. 2, Berlin, 1895, pp. 18 ff.

[45] Pons, L-2. Cf. G. Faidit on Richard Lionheart: *Fortz chauza es que tot lo maior dan/ E·l maior dol, las! qu'ieu anc mais agues* (J. Audiau and R. Lavaud: Nouvelle anthologie des troubadours, Paris, 1927, 217). B. de Born on the Young King: *Si tuit li dol elh plor elh marrimen . . . fosson ensems, sembleran tuit leugier* (A. Thomas, *Poésies complètes de B. de Born*, 1888).

[46] Pons, 4, 10–13. Cf. Gavaudan: *Mielhs fora qu'ieu muris premiers/Que ses joy visques ab dolor . . . Dona, mais volgr'ab vos murir/Ab joy qu'ab ira forsenar* (Audiau and Lavaud, p. 227). Cf. also the unconvincing statement of Daspol: *Car no y puesc lo rey morent seguir/ Es ma dolors plus corals e plus fortz,/Car vieu forsatz e no·m deinh ausir mortz* (quoted by Springer, p. 21).

[47] Pons, 8. Cf. B. de Born: *Estouta Mortz, plena de marrimen,/Vanar te potz quel melhor cavalier/As tolt al mon qu'anc fos de nula gen.*

[48] Pons, 13–16; 37–45. Cf. the other *planh* of B. de Born on the Young King (Thomas, p. 25): *A Dieu lo coman,/Quel meta en loc Saint Johan.* Cf. Gavaudan (loc. cit.): *Dompna, grans joys, grans alegriers/Vos met'el renc del cel aussor/Ab los angils que fan lauzor/Aissi cum sanhs Johans retrais,/Qu'anc fals lauzengiers, brus ni says,/Non poc un sol de vos mal dir,/Ni eu no sabria yssermir/Los vostres bos ayps ni comtar* (Audiau and Lavaud, p. 230).

[49] Pons, 17–18; 19–27; 37–45. This is an essential element in all *planhs*, and hyperbole and the use of superlatives are an invariable feature. Cf. B. de Born, in note 48 above, and further in the same poem: *Qu'era del mons lo plus valens dels pros.*/Cf. Gavaudan, note 49 above. Cf. G. Faidit, loc. cit.: *Mortz es lo reys, e son passat mil an/Qu'anc tan pros hom no fo, ni no·l vi res,/ Ni mais non er nulhs hom del sieu semblan,/Tan larcs, tan pros tan arditz tals donaire*, etc., etc.

of the departed[50]; he himself forswears poetry and/or love.[51]

Thus our *planh*, in so far as a poem can be broken down into its component parts, remains strictly within the narrow limits imposed by the verse-form of which it is an example. To this extent it is true to say that it could as well have been written by any one of a dozen other poets.

When all this has been said, however, the reader of this *planh* is still left with the impression that this is a warm, sincere and spontaneous expression of personal grief.

Obviously if, at the time of composition, Pons had recently been forgiven for the "Audiart" episode; if in fact he did forswear poetry and love, go on the crusade and die there, still greater poignancy is lent to the *Planh*. It is tempting also, to relate Pons' expression of world-weariness to the documentary evidence suggesting that the death of his lady was the culmination of a life which had many sorrows.[52]

In fact, of course, these biographical details have no bearing on our appreciation of the *planh* as a literary creation—genuine experience does not always produce great poetry; and conversely, art is not necessarily dependent on the historical truth of its subject. The ultimate criterion is whether the poet has succeeded in conveying the impression of sincerity; and if so, what means he has employed to achieve this end.

In the purely mechanical matter of versification, little need be said of the verse-pattern employed: the use of the decasyllabic for graver poems is a convention—albeit a justifiable one; and the rhyme-pattern, with negligible variations, is that to be found in a considerable number of troubadour poems.[53] It is only necessary to point out that Pons has not added to his difficulties by selecting rare rhymes—a casual reference to the Provençal dictionary would yield enough words on these five rhymes to compose a dozen poems of this length. On the contrary, this is one of the means he has used to create the impression of extreme simplicity of utterance.

Pons' technical skill here reveals itself rather in the more subtle use of word-order, rhythm, enjambement, to produce the most telling effect.

The outstanding example, of course, is the use of enjambement in lines 10–12: it is hard to conceive of a more powerful or telling use of the word *Morz* than in this passage. Again, in the next line, enjambement has been used to throw into prominence the word *viur'*.

Less obviously, perhaps, the poem owes much of its grave, elegiac character

[50] Pons, 26–27; 37–38. Cf. Aimeric de Peguilhan (quoted by Springer, p. 23): *Era par ben que valors se desfai.* Cf. Aimeric de Bellenoi (Springer, p. 23): *tug bon aip que tanhon a valor/Moron ab vos.* Cf. Sordel (Springer, p. 23): *tug l'aip valent en sa mort perdut so.* Cf. B. de Born (Thomas, p. 29): *D'aquest segle flac, ple de marrimen/S'amors s'en vai, son joi tenc mensongier,/Que re noi a que no torn en cosen.*

[51] Pons, 47–48– 51–52. Cf. B. de Born (p. 26): *Mon chan fenisc ab dol et ab mal traire/Per toztemps mais el tenc per remasut.* Cf. Gavaudan: *Ja mays no serai prezentiers/Que perdut ey pretz e valors/. . . Ja Dieus no·m . . . lays mays ad amor servir;/Mais vuelh mon cor pessan blezir:/Tos temps serai tortre ses par.*

[52] Indeed Fabre, pp. 27–29, has not hesitated to argue thus.

[53] In fact, precisely this verse-pattern is found in only half-a-dozen other poems.

to the iambic rhythm. This is occasionally varied, but always, it seems, deliberately; as when the movement of the verse is slowed down by the juxtaposition of tonic syllables to produce a spondee: *Mórz! Lás, caitiús . . .*; and *Ai! quáls dáns és de midónz n'Azaláis!* It is worth noting, too, that this rhythmic effect would probably be emphasized when the *planh* was sung to music.[54]

The two main charges laid against the Provençal *planh* are the use of hyperbole, and the triteness of the sentiments expressed. Here too, it seems at first sight that the *planh* of Pons de Chapteuil may justly be criticized on both these counts.

However, hyperbole is a relative term: when, for example, a troubadour, lamenting a wealthy patron, exaggerates his qualities, we may doubt his sincerity; when another, in a *planh* on the death of his king, declares that he too wishes to die, we are frankly incredulous; but when a lover, mourning his lady, calls her the most perfect creature he has known, and cries that he would rather die than outlive her, we may believe him—the elegy is a subjective form, and what he is saying may well be, for him, the literal truth.

This is not to say that Bertrand's *planh* for the Young King, or Gaucelm's lament for Richard, do not ring true. In these two poems, as in that of Pons, the hyperbole is offset by the impression of restraint—an impression created largely by the extreme simplicity of form and utterance.

Triteness of sentiment is, of course, particularly difficult to avoid in obituary literature: praise of the dead, the expression of personal grief and public loss, reflexions on the transitory nature of life, apostrophe, hyperbole—these are the invariable and inevitable ingredients of all poetry of this kind. However, they may be combined in a great variety of ways; and the great elegies are those in which the poet gives a new twist to the old themes, drives them home by the use of apt images, and contrives to make us feel that his emotion is his own, unique and personal grief, and at the same time the common sorrow of all mankind.

Pons has sought to achieve this by combining the two elements: praise, and regret for the transience of human values. In Azalais he extols, for the last time, the virtues which, for him, were the perfect embodiment of the courtly ideal—above all, the conception of *mais valer*: that the true lover, and all those who come under the influence of the *dompna*, are enhanced in all the courtly virtues.[55] The repetition of the verb *valer* in stanzas 3 and 4 is particularly

[54] See G. Reese, *Music in the Middle Ages*, New York, 1940, pp. 206 ff. This poem would seem to demand the second, or iambic mode; but as Mr. Reese says: "It is probable that the old executants did not observe the patterns of the mode too rigorously." Thus the singer, whilst employing the iambic mode, might well introduce spondees where the expression demanded it. Indeed, it is inconceivable that Pons would have put *morz* in such a strong position in line 12 if the musical convention insisted that it be weakly stressed there.

[55] Space does not permit an analysis of Pons' treatment in other poems of the theme of courtly love. Its noblest conception, however, has nowhere, in all troubadour poetry, been more simply or better expressed than in his "*Car per vos vaill en totz valenz assais!*" The question whether *dompna* is merely a convention for the "patroness" has no relevance here.

striking, and is certainly not accidental. Just as Villon's twin obsessions of feminine beauty and death achieve their most powerful expression when associated in the same poem, so here the courtly ideal finds its highest utterance when allied to despair at the hopelessness of human endeavour; and these lines have indeed something of the elegiac force of "*Où sont les neiges. . . .*"

Thus Pons' vow henceforth to forswear love and poetry appears, not as a mere figure of speech, but as the logical and inevitable consequence of the event which, for him, was not merely the loss of a beloved person, but the passing of all that was best and noblest in his own philosophy of love.

The fifth stanza remains a problem: its easy optimism is at variance with the tone of despair maintained throughout the rest of the poem; and its two elements of praise and intercession have already been better expressed in other stanzas. The manuscript tradition leaves the question open, and so it must remain; but it is hard to believe that this passage is not a clumsy interpolation.

In conclusion, it seems that we have here a poem which exhibits many of the vices commonly attributed to the troubadours; yet which gives skilful and convincing expression to the emotions inspired by bereavement—whether the grief was occasioned by an experience of real life, or whether it existed only in the mind of the poet.

Further, the criteria we have applied to this *planh* are equally valid for the works of other troubadours. It may be that the paucity of sentiment which has so often been noted in the lyric poetry of Provence, and which cannot be denied, is part of the literary strait-jacket they created for themselves. Some sought to escape from it by devoting their talent to the elaboration of form at the expense of content, whose extreme expression is to be found in the *trobar clus*; others—and surely the greatest—still subordinated form to content, using it to draw the maximum effect from the limited matter prescribed by convention. At all events, the fact that these masters of poetic form, whilst using the "mixture as before" were so often able to create poems of lasting merit, is the measure of their achievement.

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